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SOUTH AFRICAN PEASANT ARCHITECTURE

Southern Sotho Folk Building

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SHELTERING beneath the rocky scarps of the barren but colourful Drakensberg and Maluti Mountains the Sotho homesteads and cattle kraals merge imperceptibly into the background; only curling columns of blue smoke betray the presence of a village. The horizontally bedded strata of this region have given rise to a series of step-like escarpments and the villages are usually perched on the shelves, backed by steep walls of rock and tumbled boulders. They are a part of the land to which they belong. Melting-pot of Bantu cultures from north, east and west, the Southern Sotho village presents a composite picture of primitive architectural types the origins of which become increasingly difficult to trace with the passing years.

The traditional Sotho dwelling in Basutoland is the *mohlongoa-fatše*; literally, a house made of sticks stuck in the ground. In its fundamental form this type is still employed for the tiny field shelters, *lephephe* (PLATE 1),¹ erected during harvest time and for the large temporary huts used at initiation schools. It consists of a number of pliant saplings stuck in the ground in a circle and bent over to meet at the apex. These are held in position by a ring of twisted wattle, *sehlohlo*, placed a short distance below the apex inside the framework (PLATE 2) and by a series of hoops parallel to the ground. The covering is a loose

thatch secured by a network of plaited grass rope, *thapo*.

A framework of identical form is employed by the Vundle of South Basutoland and adjoining areas and a hut type in the Ngora region of Uganda appears to belong to the same class. The bee-hive shaped huts of the Natal Nguni, although having some apparent affinities with the *mohlongoa-fatše*, differ in fundamental structure. The framework of the Nguni hut consists of two sets of semi-circular arched ribs arranged at right angles and the *mohlongoa-fatše* appears to be most closely related to the huts of the nomadic Bushmen who formerly occupied this region.

"In 1823 Veldt-Cornet A. Venter saw on the left bank of the Orange River between Aliwal North and Herschel an abandoned village of 1,133 huts. These huts were like baking-ovens in shape, with doors about 18 inches high. They were said to belong to Bushmen of the clan Red Kana, who had fled from the west. Bushmen huts were about 4 feet in diameter. They were made of branches of trees planted in the ground in a circle with the top ends bent inwards and bound together with withes so as to form a kind of dome; round these smaller branches were interlaced horizontally, and grass thatch was laid upon them, fastened with grass ropes. When possible, the entrance faced the east, so as to catch the first

¹ Photographs 1-15 by JAMES WALTON. Photographs 16-19 by H. V. MEYEROWITZ.

rays of the morning sun" (ELLENBERGER, D. F. and MCGREGOR, J. C., *History of the Basuto*, 1912, p. 10). This description would apply equally well to the *lephephe* still in use in Basutoland which conform in size and in their method of construction to the Bushmen huts described by Venter. Circular depressions of approximately 4 feet diameter, associated with Bushman flint implements, have been noted by the writer at Qalabane, in the Mafeteng district, and near Fort Hartley, in the Quthing district.

In Basutoland this simple hut type was enlarged and ultimately developed into the *mohlongoa-fatše* which, as early as 1860, was considered by Casalis as the typical Sotho dwelling. In the mountain regions particularly these are still fairly common and, although much larger, the framework is identical with that of the field hut already described (PLATE 2). It differs only in having a long tunnel-like porch, the *mathule*, which was devised to provide warmth and shelter from the winds during the colder months but also served as sleeping quarters during the hot weather. The *mathule* consists of a series of arched saplings joined together by horizontal rods and is a definite addition to the original framework (PLATE 3). The outer opening of the porch is much larger than the interior doorway and it often assumes the horse-shoe shape which Stow regarded as typically Kwená (PLATE 6) (STOW, GEO. W. *The Native Races of South Africa*, 1905, p. 546).

In the traditional examples this framework is covered entirely with thatch neatly sewn to the timbers with plaited grass rope (PLATES 4 and 7). I have not come across a single instance of a thatch being secured by a network of grass rope such as is used for the *lephephe* and in a neater manner for the huts of the Vundle, Pandomise, Gcalekas, Fingo, Ngwane and other tribes east of the Drakensbergs. Two photographs in *Livre d'Or de la Mission du Lessouto* (1912), pp. 59 and 64, indicate that the method was, however, formerly employed to some extent in Basutoland. These two distinct methods of thatching are among the most fundamental features to be considered when classifying primitive African architectural types.

At a later date mud or stone walls, approximately vertical, were applied to the bee-hive framework up to a height of four or five feet. In such cases the outer walling is separated from the stakes by a layer of brushwood. Surviving examples of the earlier type, in which the thatch reaches to the ground, as at Molotoaneng near Teyateyaneng and Simon near Leribe, are all quite large, often measuring between 20 and 30 feet in diameter. The more recent examples with stone or mud outer walls are usually smaller. The interior of the *mohlongoa-fatše* is plain and simply furnished—a saddle quern and grinding stone, a few hides and rush mats and maybe a chest to hold the more treasured possessions.

Opposite the entrance is a raised ledge of mud, the *mohaaloana*, on which rest the various household pots (FIG. 1e). This is the most revered part of the hut and children are never allowed to sit upon it. When the site of the hut is determined two places, the doorway and the *mohaaloana*, are marked out by the medicine man with forked twigs of *mofifi* wood. These protect the inmates from evil influences for they shroud the interior of the hut in darkness, *lefifi*, and evil spirits are unable to see the objects inside. A third *mofifi* prong is placed in the apex of the thatch when the hut is completed to ward off lightning. The inside walls are covered from floor to apex with a coating of mud and cow dung which is coloured from natural ochreous pigments and the floor is similarly smeared. Often the wall is decorated with geometric and floral patterns.

Even in the larger huts I have never seen a central pole supporting the ridge although I am informed by the older Sotho that they were formerly used and that short lengths of branches, on which clothes could be hung, were left attached to the pole. Casalis illustrates the interior of a *mohlongoa-fatše* having a number of upright poles which do not reach to the roof and are merely clothes hangers (FIG. 1e).

The hearth does not appear to have the same significance among the Southern Sotho as it does amongst the Nguni and other tribes where it ranks in importance with the doorway and the pottery shelf and is equally protected from evil

influences. Most cooking is done outside and when a fire is required inside the hut either for warmth or cooking during cold and rainy weather it is often placed directly on the floor. Sometimes, however, a circle of pebbles or a flat stone constitute a primitive hearth, *leifo*, in the centre of the hut.

Each Southern Sotho household usually comprises two or more separate dwellings, one of which is the main living room and the other is the "fire-house", or *mokhorro*. Among more conservative elements, who still respect and treasure their tribal traditions, both these huts may be of the *mohlongoa-fatše* type but with the gradual diffusion of the "rondavel" and rectangular dwellings the *mohlongoa-fatše* is usually relegated to the more lowly rôle of *mokhorro* and it is customary to find a household consisting of a "rondavel" or rectangular living room associated with a *mohlongoa-fatše mokhorro*. In more "Europeanized" families even the "rondavel" serves as a *mokhorro* and the actual dwelling house is rectangular. The *mohlongoa-fatše* framework is not confined to the Southern Sotho. Without a porch an identical framework may still be found in use amongst the Vundle of South Basutoland, and amongst the Gcalekas, where it is known as *Ngqu-Pantsi*. "The *Ngqu-Pantsi* is sometimes to be met with at the kraal of the chief. These men are the most conservative element among the Xosa, and endeavour to perpetuate the things which reflect a past age, but time and changed conditions of life are against them, and the *Ngqu-Pantsi* will soon be only an indistinct memory of the past" (SOGA, J. H., *The Ama-Xosa: Life and Customs*, 1931, p. 409). A hut type employed in the Ngora region of Uganda bears a still closer resemblance to the *mohlongoa-fatše* for it has a porch as well as the same framework (JONES, THOMAS JESSE, *Education in East Africa*, c. 1925, PLATE XX A).

The "Kwena Migration", approaching Basutoland from the north and west, brought with it the cone-on-cylinder hut type for which the widely-used term "rondavel" is the most convenient. In its most primitive form it still survives around Mpharane, in the Mohale's

Hoek district, where it consists of a circle of upright stakes, one to two feet apart, capped by a conical roof framework (PLATE 9). The inter-spaces between the upright stakes are filled with wattle which is covered both externally and internally with a mixture of mud and cow dung (PLATE 10). In later examples this wattle wall is often cased with turf or rubble (PLATE 11).

In no instance is the roof extended to form a verandah, supported by an outer circle of upright posts, such as is found amongst certain Sotho tribes to the north and west. Examples do occur in the Mpharane district where the roof projects over the doorway to form a porch supported by two uprights, probably a relic survival of the former use of a complete encircling verandah.

Usually, however, the walls are of mud, unburnt brick, rubble bonded with clay or more recently of dressed stone. The wall is built as a cylinder on which the conical thatched roof rests. Where the walls are of rubble the part around the doorway is smeared with clay and dung and coloured with ochreous pigments (PLATE 14). It is often decorated with *litema* patterns consisting of parallel grooves arranged in a variety of forms which the Sotho have likened to a ploughed field, *tema* (PLATE 19).¹ In many cases the entire hut is smeared and patterned in this way whilst the floor and raised platform, *lebali*, outside the door are sometimes similarly treated (FIG. 2b).

An unusual form of decoration is displayed on the huts of the Taung who are concentrated in the Mafeteng district. Their huts are built of mud, unburnt bricks or blocks of turf. The doorway, which faces the sheltered side, is surrounded by a *litema* border but the remainder of the hut, which is exposed to the prevailing wind and rain, is protected by small stones embedded in the mud surface (PLATES 12 and 13). Different coloured stones, usually brown and white, are chosen and arranged as mosaic patterns consisting mainly of various combinations of ellipses (FIG. 2a). Timothy Kabi, headman of a Taung branch in the Quthing district, informs me that these patterns were formerly employed in beads for their shields and that when the shield became obsolete they applied the same patterns to their huts.

The patterning of huts is widespread among Sotho tribes (for illustrations of Kxatla examples see SCHAPER, I., *The Bantu-Speaking Tribes of South Africa*, 1946 edition, PLATES XI (b) and XII (b)) and it is apparently traditional for several early instances are recorded by Stow. "These people (Batlapin) were found to be more advanced than the Kaffir nations east of the Colony. Their huts were not only larger and more carefully constructed, but the walls were painted and adorned with various patterns. Mr. Campbell found that the wife of Salakutu had decorated the walls of her house with a series of paintings being rough representations of the camelopard, rhinoceros, elephant, lion, tiger and steenbok. These were done in white and black paint (1812-13 at Old Lithako). On the occasion of his second visit Mr. Campbell saw some similar paintings among the Bahurutsi (1820) in one of the chief houses at Kurrechane; and among the Basuto, in Basutoland, where a house was at one time ornamented with the figures of animals in like manner.

"As these cases are unique in the several tribes where they occur, viz. among the Batlapin, the Bahurutsi, and Bakuena of Moshesh, all widely separated from each other, and whose national mode of painting, when they indulge in it, is confined to the representations of lines, spots, lozenges, curves, circles and zig-zags, it becomes an interesting subject of speculation whether the attempt to represent animal life in these isolated cases was a spontaneous development in the artists whose handiwork they were, or whether, as was frequently the case in those days, these men had taken Bushman wives, or were half-caste descendants of Bushman mothers, and thus the hereditary talent displayed itself in their new domiciles among people of either the Bachoana or Basuto race" (*op. cit.*, p. 435).

Of the Bahurutsi the same writer observed: "Some of the principal houses were of considerable size. One, described by Mr. Campbell (1812-13), was circular, like all the others, having not only the walls plastered within and without, but likewise the inside of the roof. The wall was painted yellow, and ornamented

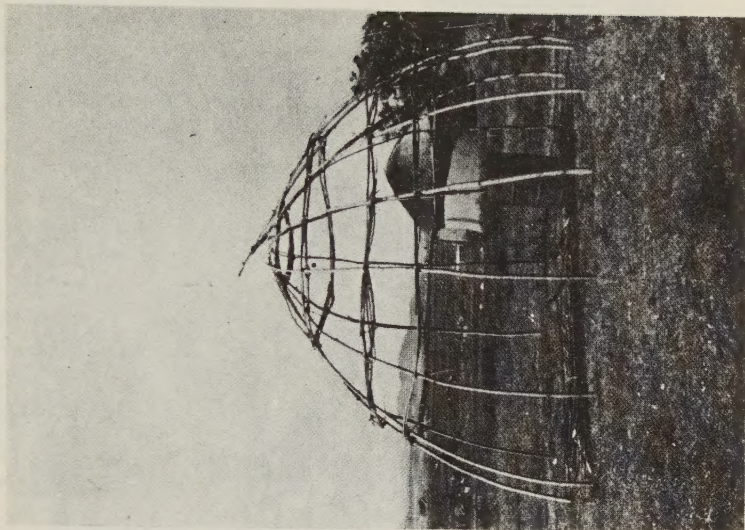
with figures of shields, elephants, camelopards, etc. It was also adorned with a neat cornice on a border painted of a red colour. In some houses there were figures, pillars, etc. moulded in hard clay, and painted with different colours, that would not have disgraced European workmen" (*op. cit.*, p. 522). Internally the "rondavel" type displays the same features as the *mohlongoa-fatše* but it is sometimes provided with small windows and the doorway is always high enough to allow comfortable entrance without stooping.

The rectangular homestead, which is becoming increasingly popular, is the result of European influence. It assumes two well-defined forms; the gable-ended and the hipped. The former is comparatively rare, possibly because of the difficulty in constructing a complete gable wall which is apparent among all primitive peoples. Very often the end wall is of stone up to eave level and above that it is of unburnt brick. The roofing is of thatch or corrugated iron and this is held down at each end by an added course of the gable wall which thus projects above the general roof level (FIG. 1c). The hipped roof is more easily constructed by people accustomed to thatching round huts (FIG. 1d).

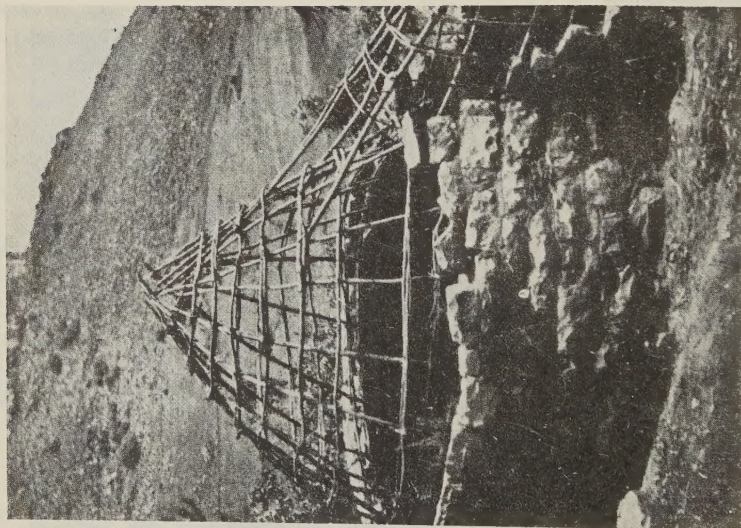
The interiors of the rectangular huts conform more closely to European forms. They have a doorway in the centre of one side with a window lighting each half and the hut is divided into a larger living room, into which one enters, and a smaller sleeping apartment or store room. Wooden chairs, table and shelves may be found in more wealthy families but they are of inferior quality and lack the homely cleanliness and beauty of the clay shelves with their spirals and pendants (PLATE 16). Similar clay pot shelves are to be met with in "rondavels" and even in *mohlongoa-fatše* where they occupy the same position as the *mohaoloana*, facing the entrance. They are an interesting attempt to interpret a European feature in a traditional medium and they represent a more recent development of the *mohaoloana*. In the rectangular hut the shelves have often lost all connexion with the earlier simple pot shelf for they are placed against a gable wall or in some position not facing the entrance. Even so, they



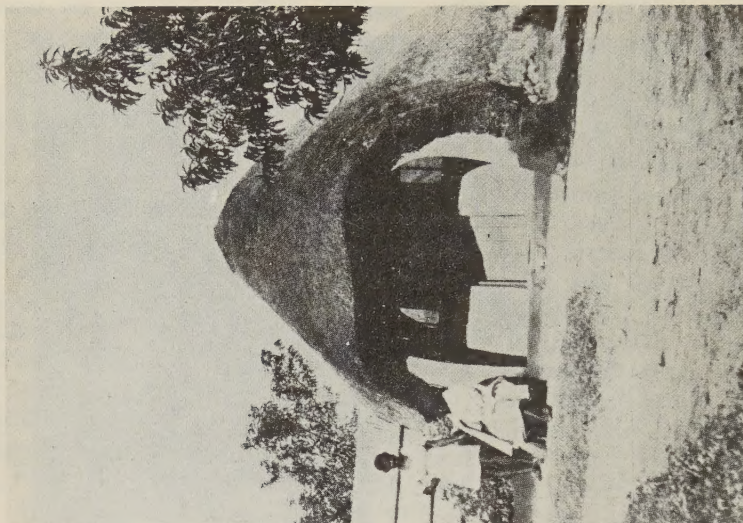
1. Field hut (Uphepe), near Qwani.



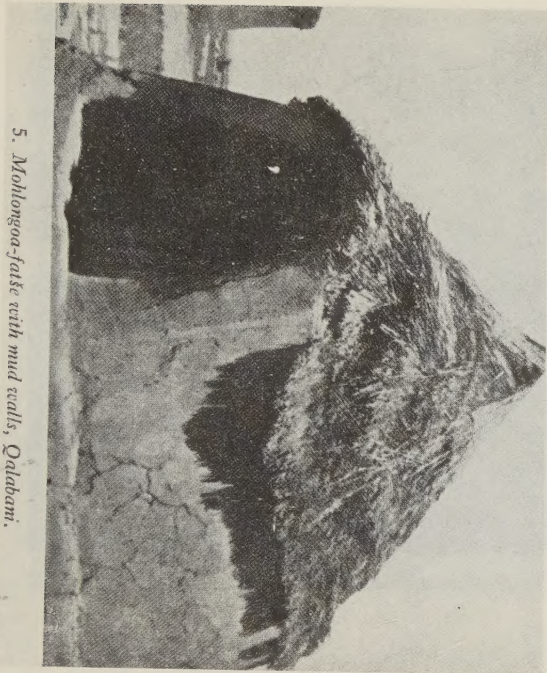
2. Mohlongoa-faiše framework, Teyatyaneng.



3. Mohlongoa-fatše framework with Mathule, Phamong.



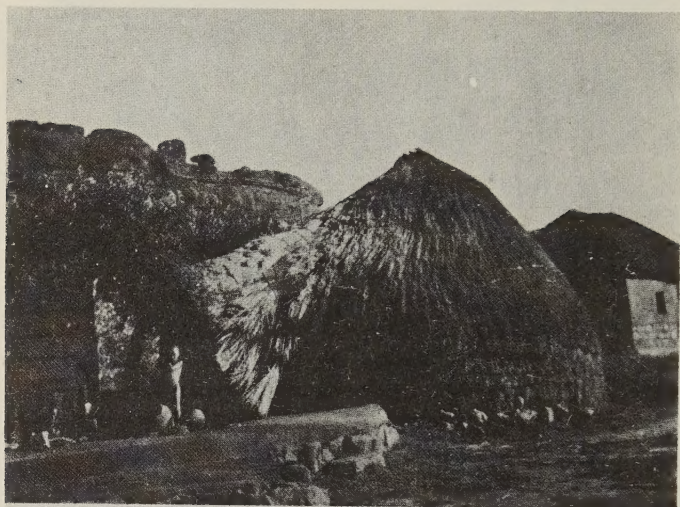
4. Traditional Mohlongoa-fatše with thatch reaching to ground, near Teyatyaneng.



5. *Mollongga-fatke with mud walls, Qalabani.*



6. *Mathule with traditional reed door, Qerani.*



7. *Traditional Mohlongoa-fatše, Simon.*



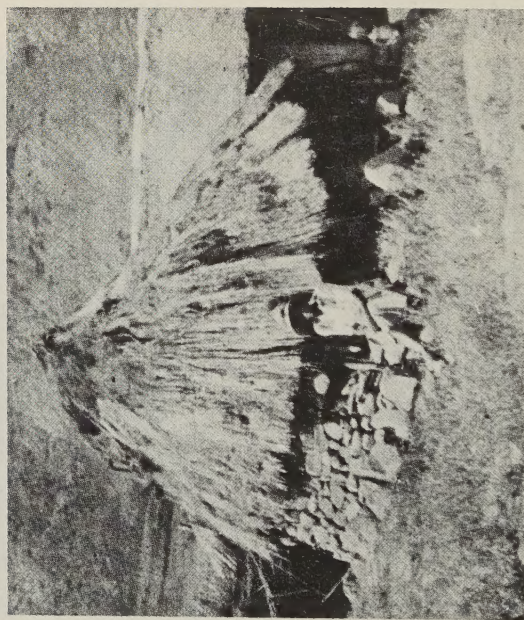
8. *Mohlongoa-fatše with stone walls, Ntho.*



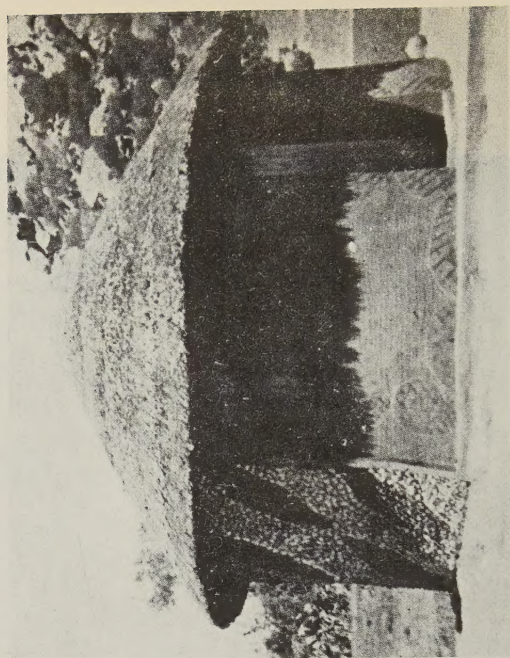
9. "Cone-and-cylinder" framework of "Rondavel" type hut, Qwani.



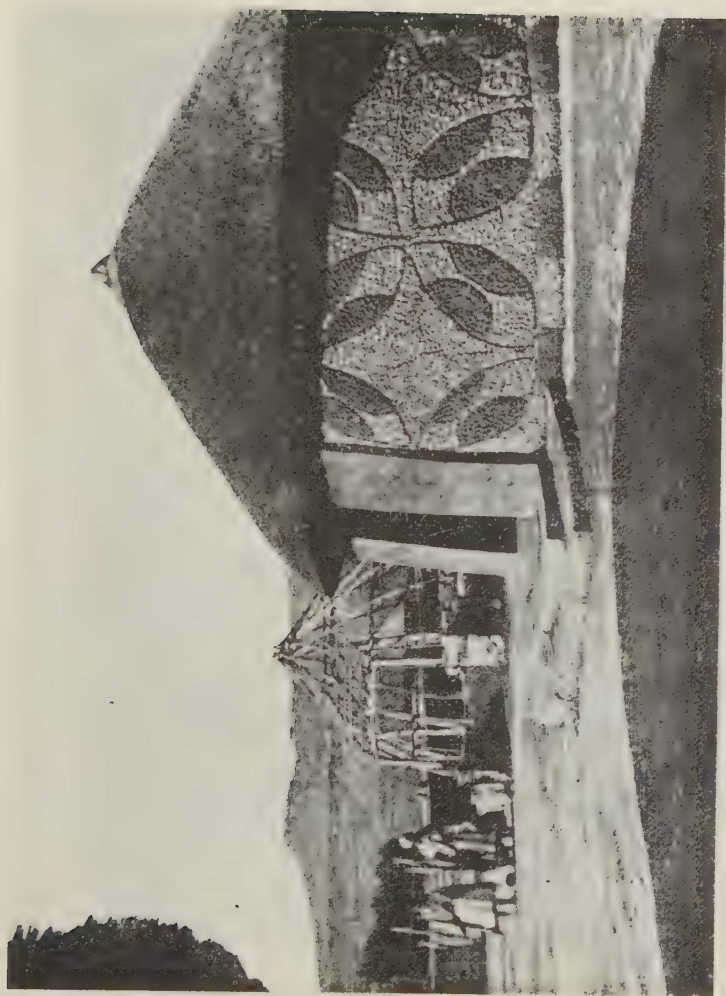
10. "Rondavel" with upright posts and mud and wattle filling, Qwani.



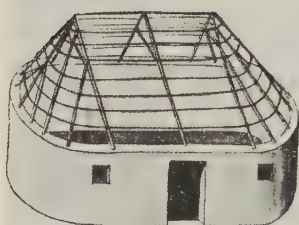
11. "Rondavel" with upright posts and rubble infilling, Qrcani.



12. Taung hut with mosaic pattern, Qalabani.



13. Taung hut with mud walls and mosaic pattern, Maklakhe's.



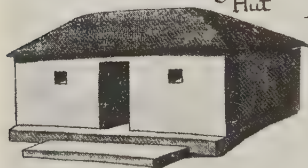
Roof Framework



Oval House, Teyateyaneng

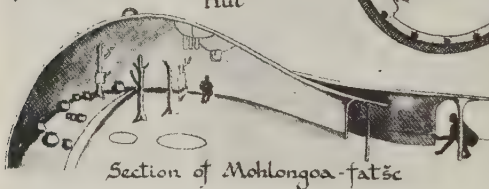


Gable-ended Rectangular Hut



Hip-roofed Rectangular Hut

BASUTOLAND FOLK BUILDING

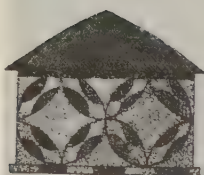


Section of Mohlongoa-fatšc

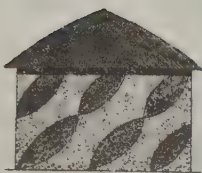
"Hutte des Bassoutos" - 1860
(after Casalis).

W.

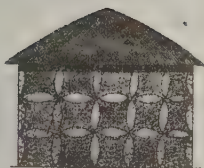
FIG. 1. Basutoland folk building, by JAMES WALTON.



Makhakhe's



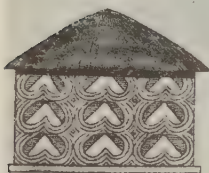
Qalabani



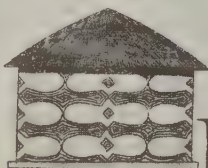
Mohlehl's

TAUNG MOSAICS

SOUTHERN
SOTHO
HUT
PATTERNS

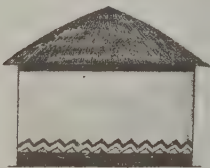


Qalabani



Qalabani

LITEMA PATTERNS



KWENA DESIGNS Ramaroke's 1877 (after Stow)

FIG. 2. Southern Sotho hut patterns, by JAMES WALTON.



14. Household group, Makhakhe's.



15. Oval house, Teyateyaneng.



16. Clay sideboard in rectangular house, Ha Ramarumo.



17. Clay screen between living room and bedroom, Masianokeng.



18. *View from bedroom through clay screen, Pottsane's.*



19. *Making Litema patterns, Bolokoe's.*

form a delightful feature of the interior furnishing for they are usually gaily coloured. The partition may be just a curtain or a wooden wall but often it is a richly ornamented clay screen (PLATES 17 and 18). The fireplace is occasionally a gable fixture after the European pattern when it is provided with a chimney stack running up the outside of the wall.

A hut type of particular interest is the oval hut, with rounded ends and straight sides, predominant around Teyateyaneng and very rarely elsewhere (PLATE 15). Two examples in a tiny village near Mafeteng and one from Quthing are the only ones known to the writer other than those at Teyateyaneng. The place of the oval hut in the evolution of primitive architectural types is not yet decided. Innocent contends that after the circular house "the next development was to make it oblong in plan, straight sided with rounded ends and the builders were at once faced with a difficulty in supporting the tops of the poles which formed the framework of the straight sides of the building . . . They overcame this difficulty of a support for the slanting poles by the use of a horizontal pole against which the poles might be leaned or to which they might be fastened" (INNOCENT, C.F., *The Development of English Building Construction*, 1916, p. 11).

Examples of oval huts formed by the union of two circular huts are not uncommon. The bark-peelers' huts from the High Furness area of the English Lake District were of this type (COWPER, H. S., *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, xvi, 1901), as are the *capanna* of the Roman Campagna herdsmen and charcoal burners (ERIXON, SIGURD, "Some Primitive Contructions and Types of Lay-out, with their relation to European Building Practice", in *Folkliv*, 1937, pp. 124-36). Discussing the *clochans* and *bothans* of Lewis, Ake Campbell states: "there is however one oval or oblong form of building which may have its origin in the stone-built domed-roofed bee-hive house. To get more room he must put two or more circular bee-hive dwellings together, or he must go over to the oval or oblong form" ("Notes on the Irish House", in *Folkliv*, 1938, p. 174).

The association of hipped roofs and roughly oval plans in certain existing Irish houses is commented on by the same writer. "The houses with thatched gables sometimes have rounded corners so that the base foundation may have an almost oval shape on the outside, while the inside room may be rectangular in form. It is evident that the oval house form and the thatched gables complement each other. They could have existed together from a very early stage in building traditions. In a windy district the rounded and thatched gables are suitable, as the house will be more stream-lined.

"The roof with a thatched gable can easily have replaced the stone, or cyclopic roof, in cabins and huts. This fact and certain similarities would seem to indicate that the oval house form in the above-mentioned houses with thatched gables, may have developed from the round or beehive house type. Parallels may be found among the stone-built huts with similar roofs in Estremadura and elsewhere. On the other hand, houses with stone-built gables represent quite clearly the rectangular house type, as in such constructions the gables are never rounded" ("Notes on the Irish House", in *Folkliv*, 1937, p. 212).

It is probable, as Campbell suggests, that the hip-roofed oval or rectangular dwelling resulted from an amalgamation of two circular frameworks but the hip-roofed rectangular form used by the Southern Sotho is a direct European introduction. The oval house, on the other hand, is the product of a local evolution but it is a late development. It has resulted from a desire for increased living space on the part of people accustomed to building circular huts but in contact with rectangular forms which they desired to emulate. The owner of the Quthing examples actually converted two "rondavels", situated close together, into an oval dwelling.

The Teyateyaneng oval houses consist of two half-rondavels joined by straight sides and their roof framework confirms their origin (FIGS. 1a and 1b). I was informed by one woman occupant of such a house that the mud in that district would not bind well enough to make right-angled corners and therefore they were compelled to

make rounded ends. In these cases, then the oval house originated in an attempt to apply "rondavel" building technique to a rectangular plan. Generally the oval house is built by people accustomed to a round dwelling who come into contact with the rectangular form. Support of this is afforded from other countries.

In India the rectangular type is dominant but round huts do exist, occasionally in association with oval types, as in the Deccan (WALTON, JAMES, "The Village Homes of India", in *Modern Review*, March 1943, pp. 193-7, and PIGGOT, STUART, "Farmsteads in Central India", in *Antiquity*, September 1945, pp. 154-6). Tolstov, in describing a neolithic oval dwelling from Khwarazim, states that "ethnographical observations suggest that the oval dwelling occurs where contact is made between people living in rectangular houses and those living in round houses. In South America, for instance, the oval-shaped house is found amongst the Arawak-Yemanadis on the Amazon tributaries, amongst the Caraib-Bakairis of the upper Shingo—that is, amongst tribes living to the south of the chief region in which the rectangular 'Maloca' occurs, and to the north of the region in which the round house predominates (the Matto Grosso and the Brazilian highlands). In Africa we find oval houses amongst the Mangbattu who live on the borders between the Sudan, where the round house predominates, and the Congo where most of the buildings are rectangular" (TOLSTOV, SERGEI, P., "The Early Culture of Khwarazim", in *Antiquity*, June 1946, p. 98).

The dimensions of the Teyateyaneng oval houses are always such that the house is almost exactly twice as long as it is broad (FIG. 1b), dimensions which would result from placing two circular huts side by side. Two factors are outstanding in the evolution of the oval house:—

1. It resulted from the fusion of two circular frameworks.
2. It represents the desire for increased living space on the part of a people accustomed to building circular huts *after* they have come in contact with rectangular frameworks. It is an

attempt to apply circular building technique to a rectangular plan.

Innocent's theory that the rectangular house developed from the circular through the intermediate stage of the oval house is not supported by existing evidence. This all points to the fact that the rectangular gable-ended form and the circular came first and that the oval house resulted by adapting the circular form to the more spacious rectangular form, a result achieved by joining two circular houses together. As Ake Campbell has suggested, the hip-roofed rectangular house most probably originated in this way.

In Basutoland, however, this chronology is reversed. The circular hut came first, to be followed by European introductions of both gable-ended and hip-roofed rectangular dwellings. Then the builders of the circular huts, desiring to emulate the rectangular, evolved the oval type by joining two circular frameworks together. In one instance, near Teyateyaneng a third circular hut framework was added to the middle of one side, giving a T-shaped plan (PLATE 15).

Thatching of all these huts is usually extremely neat and effective. Bundles of reeds, *lehlaka*, are sewn to the roof framework as a foundation for the bundles of grass which are sewn both to the framework and the reed foundation. Grass rope, *thapo*, is plaited from *moli* grass and threaded through a curved wooden needle, *lehlabo*, about three feet long. With this the thatch is sewn down before being finally smoothed with a corrugated block of wood, the *thetho*.

The door displays considerable variety. Originally it consisted of a reed screen or a hide stretched on a wooden framework, either of which could be placed behind the doorway and barred from the inside. Then hinged reed screens (PLATE 6) or doors consisting of a number of lengths of thin timber fastened one above the other came into use. Commonly, however, it is a halved door of boards attributable to European influence and eminently suitable. By opening the upper half only light and fresh air may be admitted whilst poultry and other livestock can be excluded. The threshold is a rectangular space in front of

the doorway set with peach stones or pebbles but more often it is a raised platform of mud, the *lebali*, (PLATES 12, 13 and 14) which, in rectangular houses, extends almost the full length of the front and is often decorated like the walls and floor with *litema* patterns.

Among the Southern Sotho the houses are grouped in villages which comprise a number of family units slightly separated from each other. Whenever possible the village is backed by stone scarps in which case the houses look out across the open country in front. Where the villages are sited along the sides of a valley the houses all face into the valley but where they are situated in open country they face in the direction of the prevailing sunshine. Each household normally comprises at least two huts (PLATE 14), a fire-hut, *mokhoro*, and a living hut which are sometimes surrounded by a circular reed screen, the *seotloana* (PLATE 4) or a low stone wall (PLATE 13). The courtyard so enclosed, where cooking and other domestic duties are performed, is known as the *lelapa*, but very often to-day such a boundary is lacking.

Apart from the dwellings the only other structural features of a Southern Sotho village are the *Khotla*, a circle of stakes and brushwood where justice is meted out and the important business of the village is discussed, and the cattle kraals. The latter, shelters of the most treasured possessions of the Sotho, are probably more important than the homes themselves. Each family unit has its own cattle kraal which is of rubble masonry

and either rectangular or circular in shape. The entrance is defined by two upright forked posts with a number of cut-off branches on which horizontal poles rest to close the kraal at night. In front of the entrance is a hallowed space, the *lepatlello*. Here cattle are kept at night during wet weather when the interior of the kraal is muddy and here they are given salt.

Building a kraal, like threshing, wood-gathering and hoeing, is a communal task, *letsema*, rewarded by a liberal supply of beer. Great precautions are taken against evil influences. The sites of both kraal and *lepatlello* are sprinkled with water containing some powerful antidote against evil and cattle sickness and tiny pieces of wood, smeared with a mixture of fat and an ashy drug, *mohlabele*, are driven into the ground at various points. The wife of the owner of the kraal is the only woman allowed within the precincts of the kraal and even then only for a short time in the morning when she collects cow dung which may usually be seen stacked on the top of the wall drying in readiness for burning.

In concluding this short study of Southern Sotho folk building I would like to thank the many Sotho in Basutoland who have supplied me with information. Only when details of the peasant architecture in different parts of South Africa have been thoroughly studied will it be possible to accurately define the main trends of this branch of folk culture, their broad types and relationships. In subsequent papers I hope to publish further localized studies.

NOTES ON SOME METAPHYSICAL CONCEPTS OF THE BALOVALE TRIBES¹

C. M. N. WHITE

IN my earlier paper in *African Studies* (March 1948) an attempt was made to trace the evidence for the evolution of changing conceptions of a Supreme Being among the Balovale tribes. The present paper discusses some further metaphysical concepts amongst these people in the sphere of animism.

Some observers have said that African religion is one of the strongest forces of conservatism and that a cult of the dead makes the idea of change in the customs of their fathers a matter to be regarded with horror, whilst others have recorded their experience that the practices of the ancestor cult are decaying rapidly. Presumably there is truth in both statements and the social environment of a people must be considered in relation to the beliefs and practices of that people in forming any evaluation of the situation in any particular people. There is some danger in the commonplace use of the term "The African" which tends to create an impression of universality throughout Africa which is not in fact to be found, and this lack of uniformity is growing rapidly under the impact of the great diversity of influences from the outside world.

Since living beings and the ancestral spirits combine to form a complete society, it is convenient to begin by examining the general concept of life from both physical and non-physical aspects.

I. CONCEPTIONS OF THE BODY AND THE SOUL

Similar terms which are co-extensive in scope occur in the four main tribes. *Mujimba* denotes the physical body in Lunda, Lwena and Chokwe, being replaced by *muwila* in Luchazi. Unlike what Van Wing (*Etudes Bakongo*) has recorded for the Bakongo, it is also used for the body of

animals as well as of human beings. With it goes *umi* (Lunda), *mwono* (Lwena, Chokwe, Luchazi) which may be rendered as "life". During the living existence of a person his *mwono* resides within his *mujimba* and on death it is separated from it. The *mwono* is a separate entity from the body; thus a person may say: "I want *Kasumbi nimwono wenyi*" —literally a fowl and its life, to denote a living fowl not one killed for him to eat. The expression *echa mwono*, "let go life", is commonly used as a euphemism for death. Van Wing stressed that *moyo* (the Kongo equivalent of *mwono*) was located in the blood by the Bakongo, hence the importance of blood in the symbolism of magic. The Balovale people also regard blood as important in fetishism and its mystical role in many ceremonies is apparent. It is clearly associated with life as distinct from death and the primitive idea that any wound which causes bleeding, however slight, is more serious than a grave wound without bleeding, is wide spread. But the Balovale tribes do not regard the blood as the special seat of the *mwono*. They regard it as residing especially in the heart or liver, with some differences *inter se*, viz:

Lunda: *muchima*, the liver, is also the seat of emotions and life, but *ludungu*, the actual heart, is not used of emotions or *mwono*.

Chokwe: *mbunge*, the heart, also the seat of emotions and *mwono*, but *lyayi*, the liver, is not used of emotions.

Lwena: *muchima* replaces *mbunge*, and *lisuli* replaces *lyayi*, the connotations remaining as in Chokwe.

Luchazi: *mutima* replaces *mbunge*, and *lisuli* replaces *lyayi*. The connotations remain as in Chokwe.

Thus the Lunda regard the liver, whilst the other

¹For an explanation of the term "Balovale Tribes", see the writer's papers in *African Studies*, March 1948, and *Africa*, April 1948.

three regard the actual heart as the seat of emotions and life.

Life is identified with conscious actions: hence *muchima*, *mbunge* or *mutima* are used to describe thinking, liking, wanting or feeling any emotion, either pleasant or painful. An action done with *muchima* denotes intention or premeditation as distinct from accident or inadvertence.

The power or properties of a living creature are commonly supposed to inhere in the physical substance of it—hence in making charms the use of fragments of hippopotamus or elephant to give great strength or of a lion to give courage. Conversely, these powers are destroyed if the physical form of an object is obliterated, hence the burning of witches, snakes or other noxious things. The verb *fwa*, to die, denotes the diminution or destruction of the inherent power of the thing which has died, hence its easy extension to denote objects damaged or ruined which are themselves inanimate.

In addition to the *mwono*, or life, a person has a shadow which bears a mystical relation to life. Its terms are Lunda, *moevulu*; Lwena, *muwimbimbi*; Luchazi, *chimbembesi*; Chokwe, *chizulie*. Every living person has a shadow and a person who throws no shadow is not a living human being.

The shadow may leave its earthly body at night and travel, and have adventures and these cause the owner of the shadow to dream. Originally people were afraid of photographs of themselves because they thought they would lose their shadows and a looking glass was viewed with fear because it seemed to have taken away a man's personality. These particular fears are now things of the past, but it is still said that familiar spirits eat men's shadows, i.e. kill them. It will be noted that inanimate objects like trees do not have shadows like human beings. The *shadow* of a tree has a different word—which may be rendered as the *shade* which a tree casts.

Among the Balovale tribes the shadow leaves the body on death and gradually vanishes. It is sometimes said to be seen near the grave or the hut of the dead for a while, after which it is seen no more. It is regarded as a material object which can be destroyed like the body. This is in

contrast to the belief of the Ovimbundu who hold that the shadow (*ochilelembia*), after the burial of the dead man, becomes an *ochilulu*, or disembodied spirit or homeless ghost which eventually fastens upon one of its kindred and becomes an ancestral spirit (*ondele*). The Balovale tribes refer to *mujimu* which may be translated "ghostly apparition". It is generally seen, sometimes heard, (*samutambieka*) for a moment only, hence the ideophone *jimu* denoting a sudden vanishing from which *mujimu* is derived. It is usually white and recognizable as its former living counterpart and people who see it are afraid, but these apparitions generally cease to appear after a time, they do not linger on as disembodied spirits to afflict others like the *ochilulu*.

When a person is dead, he is referred to as *mufu* in Lunda, Lwena or Chokwe; *mutsi* in Luchazi. *Mufu* is a person not endowed with life, a person with no *mwono* but not yet decomposed and lost to identity. It does not denote the actual physical corpse. Thus if one says that there is a *mufu* at a village, one means that there is a dead person there, but when the corpse is prepared for burial it is called *chivimbi*, not *mufu*. One may insult a person by calling him *mufu*, one cannot do so by calling him *chivimbi*. Thus *kufwa* means to be devitalized, a *mufu* is a human being without its appropriate force, and one talks of *kufwa xala* or *chizeya*, to be dead with hunger or exhaustion, meaning that one's vital forces are impaired. Without following R. P. Tempels in the rest of his thesis in his *Philosophie Bantoue*, it seems that his interpretation of *fwa* is sound.

The foregoing paragraphs are of course an interpretation of observed facts, for the average African does not consider the metaphysical respects of these concepts any more than does the average European.

Before discussing the ancestral spirits correctly so termed, it will be advisable to dispose of *ysanguke*. The verb *sanguka* means "to return back to life" and *chisanguke* is neither a ghost nor a spirit, but a person who has returned from the dead to life again. This is usually found to have occurred when a man is said to have had magic which would ensure that he would return from

death in the form of some animal and harass his neighbours. This gives rise to the stories of were-lions or were-crocodiles. The lions or crocodiles which are so called are of course quite real animals which are credited with abnormal malevolent powers. In one case of a man-eating crocodile at Balovale, it was alleged that a certain man who had been buried near the river had become a *chisanguke* in the form of this crocodile, and it was argued in support of this, that his grave had been opened to investigate and was found to be empty.

Fourche and Morlighem in *Les Communications des Indigènes du Kasai avec les Ames des Morts* associate portents with the ancestral spirits, but among the Balovale tribes there is no suggestion that the ancestral spirits are responsible for portents.

Among the Lwena a duiker or ground-hornbill crossing the path of a traveller setting out on a journey was formerly said to presage ill luck: a Lunda traveller finding the insect *mukeyu* on the road will cut it open: if fat comes out of it, it denotes ill luck, whilst if blood comes out, it denotes meat. Similarly certain dreams are commonly admitted to have certain significances—to dream that one is flying like a bird denotes a long life, to dream of a man soiled with excreta denotes success in hunting, and to dream of young maize growing is a sign of good luck. The Balovale tribes attributed dreams of future events to the shadow which in its nocturnal wanderings is bounded by neither space nor time and so has brought back to the dreamer images of things which have in fact not yet come to pass.

On the whole there is little sign of modern ideas replacing these conceptions: modern physiological or psychological scientific knowledge has not yet permeated these people so as to supplant the old beliefs. But whilst belief in the significance of dreams remains strong, modern economic conditions have largely undermined portents which would interfere with journeys or similar activities.

II. THE ANCESTRAL SPIRITS—GENERAL

The Lunda know the ancestral spirits as *akishi*, the Lwena term them *vakishi* and *mahamba*.

In the latter case *vakishi* are the ancestral spirits in the abstract whilst *mahamba* are certain special manifestations of them. The ancestral spirits are always spirits of the family confined in their effects within certain kinship limits and having no separate existence apart from the community of the living. Indeed, it has been rightly said that Bantu society is a combination of a community of the living and the dead for this reason. Melland (in *Witchbound Africa*) talks of tribal *akishi*, but this appears to be due to a mistaken interpretation of the spirits in question. Although he says "some of these spirits are quite separate from the family spirits", I can find nothing to confirm this and everything points to the reverse.

The derivation of the word *mukishi* is obscure. The root *kishi* occurs as:—

1. an ancestral spirit,
2. a carved figure or image,
3. a mask.

One is tempted to see some common idea running through all these. It has been suggested that the *mukishi* uses this root because it is a sort of human double. The mask (*likishi*) is sometimes associated with the ancestors on the basis of the root, but it is more appropriately assigned to the role of a representation according to the various types of mask, after the root in *kishi*, a figure or representation.

To deal first with the abstract term and the general aspects of the ancestral spirits, after which some special aspects may be considered. Every person upon death leaves a *mukishi* which may be rendered "spirit". Originally the *akishi* were created by *Nzambi* (*Kalunga*, etc.) so that through them the supreme power in the universe has a link with man. These spirits retain the names of their earthly living counterparts and so can be always identified when necessary. They frequent their own kindred and make known their existence from time to time by various overt signs. Their manifestation most commonly takes the form of causing illness, headaches, dizziness, or by affecting the reproductive processes of women or bringing failure to a hunter. The spirits affect hunters and women far more than

any other element in the community. Most of the *akishi* always have an earthly body in existence in the form of a living person and frequent this body and its kindred. The *akishi* are invisible, they are not like the popular English idea of a ghost. The visible ghosts (*mujimu*), the audible noises which they make (*samutambieka* and *yisanguke*) are not *akishi*.

The community of the living and the dead has been stressed by many writers. Melland wrote: "No native ever feels free from the spirits . . . they say, 'The spirits are everywhere'." Sir James Frazer wrote "in Africa the living exist in perpetual bondage to the spirits of the dead". This idea of the constant dread inspired by the spirits of the ancestors has often been stressed and perhaps it was formerly much stronger in the past than it is to-day.

Certainly the spirits are always with the community but active consciousness of their active participation in every day life is largely lacking. There is no regular or organized worship of them. They are there to be appeased and not to be worshipped and moreover as a rule they are appeased when they manifest their influences. As long as the *akishi* lie dormant they do not receive any special attention.

There is no priest who leads the community worship of the spirits, they may be approached by the head of the family or by a "doctor" or by an individual himself in some cases, (e.g. hunters). In the case of the special types of manifestations the whole community addresses the spirits together in a song. There is no ritual of worship but a fairly complex ritual of appeasement.

Melland says: "The Kaonde pray to their *wakishi* at any time". The Lunda, Lwena and their allies certainly do not. On the contrary they only approach them as a rule when some necessary occasion arises. Thus there cannot be said to be an all pervading active sense of dependence upon the *akishi*, at any rate to-day. If religion is defined as a feeling of an absolute dependence, the ancestor cult here to-day is in decline.

In passing, it may be said that the spirit sticks of the Kaonde, about which Melland wrote,

are no longer a common sight in the villages of Kasempa, and the eclipse of the *akishi* among the Kaonde to-day, in their old form, is a remarkable example of the changes wrought by two or three decades.

Melland describes how the *akishi* have a will which influences the conduct of the living and ensures that they follow the traditions of their forefathers. This is in effect the moral force of the religion since departure from the tradition will bring down the displeasure of some *mukishi* in a very palpable and overt form. This he refers to as *mana* of the *akishi* which he renders as "wisdom" of the *akishi*.

A better translation of *mana* would be "right way of doing". No doubt in the past the influence of the *akishi* on conduct was very great, and twenty five years ago there was hardly an aspect of life in which their hand was not believed to be present. The decay of their influence has probably been so gradual that it is almost impossible to trace its course, but to-day it is significant that the cases where the *akishi* are important are comparatively few, and the more clearly cut and striking because of their paucity; in other words, the *mana* of the *akishi* is no longer the universal yard staff by which to measure the propriety or otherwise of all human conduct. On the contrary it is only operative in certain more or less defined cases.

III. THE MUYOMBO TREE AND SPIRITS

The *muyombo* tree is widely used in Africa in connection with the invocation of ancestral spirits. It is to be associated with the spirit of the deceased head of the family group and hence the existing village head is concerned with its care. It may be said to represent the protector of the village, and the seat of the ancestors of the living kindred. When the bark is cut, a dusky reddish latex exudes which symbolizes blood and from other uses of trees which exhibit red latex of this type, it seems clear that blood is closely associated with fertility through the idea of menstrual blood, and blood in general as symbolic of life. Thus the *muyombo* epitomizes

the life and fertility of the living and their link with the dead to whom it is erected. This is however more strikingly illustrated with another tree, *mukula*.

When a new village is built, a *muyombo* stake is set up by the village head. After the village site has been chosen, an area is scuffled for the erection of the *muyombo*. The village head then erects the *muyombo* in the evening with all his assembled people, and marks the environs of the pole with white clay, calling upon the previous head of the group to look kindly upon the new village and ensure that it prospers. A libation of beer, usually maize beer, is then poured. Maize is used in this context because it signifies food, but other beer may be used occasionally as a substitute but not honey beer.

The *muyombo* pole takes root and grows from the stake, hence normally in every village will be found a *muyombo* tree growing.

The village head invokes his forefather who was village head before him, just as a new chief upon his succession may invoke the spirit of the previous title holder. Melland calls this the late chief having emanations in other relatives, but it is simpler to indicate that the spirit of the deceased may be invoked by his earthly successor. If several groups of people split off from an old village, they will all have a common ancestor to whom they erect *muyombo* sticks in their several villages.

Thereafter the new village will be built. If a blood relative from elsewhere comes to the village, an invocation to the common ancestor may be made on his behalf by the village head, or in his absence, the next senior person, male or female. The visitor is marked with white clay on the forehead and round the eye and a fowl is killed and given to him to eat.

Melland states that a man may invoke his spirits vicariously when he himself is away, e.g. on the line of rail. I cannot find any evidence for this. The large number of spirit sticks outside some houses, which Melland cites as due to such vicarious invocations, are always due to the fact that the owner of the house has been much occupied in invoking his own ancestral spirits, which are over active in their manifestations.

Melland also states that a man going on a journey dedicates something to his *akishi*. This needs qualification. The *muyombo* is the pole of the spirit of the village head and through this it affects the other kindred in the village. At Mwinilunga it is possible for a man going on a journey to have an invocation made on his behalf to the village *muyombo*. At Balovale, however, anyone going on a journey steals away telling no one except perhaps his mother, and taking a cooking pot and food without telling anyone. This is in case someone who possessed *vandumba* might send one to follow and kill him on the way and so claim a victim without anyone knowing. On his safe return an invocation may, however, be made publicly to the village *muyombo* in the nature of a thanksgiving. This should be done before he eats on his return home.

Although a man does not normally invoke spirits himself, this may happen in a modified form. Thus if a man had a bad dream involving a deceased ancestor, the next morning he may spontaneously set up a stick of *musole* or *kabalabala* at his house and sprinkle some meal there, making a request to the spirit in question not to come back again. This is not however a formal invocation so much as a sort of prayer, and is not called *kupesha*.

As noted above, vicarious invocation of the spirits seems not to be possible. Most people consider that it is only possible to invoke on behalf of a person if he is actually present and not possible in *absentia*. However, it should be recorded that at Balovale some informers held that a man might spontaneously think of an absent son or relative at a distance, and make invocation on his behalf, but this is disputed by many and only recorded with doubt.

A word should be added on terminology here. The verbs *pesha* and *kombela* which are used in the sense of "to invoke the ancestral spirits" are identical. Melland endeavours to distinguish these two verbs. Actually however *pesha* is a Lunda word, used also in Kaonde whilst *kombela* is found in Lwena, Chokwe and Luchazi, and is not infrequently heard in Lunda as an importation. There is no difference in meaning.

The spirit of the late head of the community may exert a malign influence in certain ways and it may be said that to-day the main influence which may be described as the power of conservatism which the ancestral spirits wield is to be found in the fear of a *mukulu* (Lwena, etc.), *chilamba* (Lunda).

This operates as follows. The senior member of a family must not be openly offended continuously by his younger dependents lest after his death he should exert an evil influence upon them by causing illness, personal misfortune or even death. In the event of such misfortunes, the victims may have recourse to a diviner who announces that the *mukulu* of the deceased elder is responsible. In such a case the community thus affected must undergo a ceremony to cleanse them from the displeasure of the *mukulu*. Among the Lovale a ceremony is often practised called *kutwva ndunga*. In this case a round hole some two feet deep is dug in the bush near the village. A goat is brought and its throat is cut and the blood placed in a container (*chizau*). Each person is stood in the hole and splashed (*kukupula*) with the blood mixed with a herbal mixture. *Chikangalwiji* grass is used to splash the medicine. After this in the evening a mound is made and the villagers are "washed" with a further medicine of herbs ground up in a mortar and placed in bark troughs of water. This washing is done with a vine (*hwavava*) as a loofah and is formalized, being done on the forehead, chest and arms. This completes the ceremony. Next day the elders set up a new *muyombo* pole in the village. A Lunda version omits the first part of this ceremony at the hole. In such a case the new *muyombo* becomes the village *muyombo* but the old one is not removed. Several *muyombo* poles may in this way be found together.

The practice of washing the hoes (*kukosa matemwa*) occurs at both Mwinilunga and Balovale. Among the Lunda when the first rain falls, the village head forbids his people to go and cultivate lest the rain ceases prematurely. Then some old seeds are taken and everyone goes to the junction of two paths or cross roads. There a wood trough is prepared with medicine from the *musesi* tree

and set down. The seeds and hoes are washed in this and the village head sprinkles red and white clay into the trough, and calls upon the ancestral spirits of the village to give them a successful cultivating. Among the Lwena this ceremony is performed in the village, each at his own house, and the village head makes invocation at the *muyombo*.

When the harvest is ripe, a ceremony of offering the first fruits is performed before anyone eats of the new crop. This is called *kutoma* in Lwena, but appears to have no special name in Lunda. In the case of the Lwena, a mush of the new grain is made and is first eaten by the head of the village and a little of it is offered to the village *muyombo* with the assembled company. Invocation is made to the spirit of the *muyombo* in thanksgiving for the new crop. Here the *muyombo* tree is seen associated through the ancestors with fertility. Among the Lunda there is usually no formal ceremony. The first mush is offered to the head of the house before anyone else partakes of it, and he may throw a little to his own *muyombo* stick if he has one at his house or he may toss a little mush outside, but no invocation is made.

When it is decided to hold a circumcision ceremony, and plans have been made, the elders of the camp go to the chief with the *Sakambungu* to obtain his sanction and he makes invocation on their behalf. On their return, the fathers of the children who are to be circumcised hold a dance and the next morning take their children to their *muyombo* and make invocation on their behalf. Each child is given a fowl to eat and in the evening the ceremonies begin.

IV. MARRIAGE RELATIONSHIP, AND THE ANCESTRAL SPIRITS

Sexual relationships create a strong link between individuals in the non-physical sphere, which subsists after the death of a spouse. Thus if one spouse dies, the survivor must be cleansed of the spirit of the deceased before he or she can safely remarry. This is usually done by a relative of the deceased having sexual connexion with the survivor. This among the Lunda and Luchazi

is almost invariable, and in Lunda is called *kutambula mukishi*. Among the Lwena the relatives of the deceased may refuse sexual relations with the surviving spouse. In that event they give the survivor a length of white beads: he or she goes and washes with medicines in a pot by a public path and leaves the beads there for some casual passer-by to pick up. Whoever picks them up, takes with them any displeasure which may come from the spirit of the deceased. Alternatively the relatives of the deceased may pay a stranger to sleep with the survivor.

In Lwena the process is called *kutambula mujimu*. It will be noted that in these cases the spirit operates exceptionally, since it may bring ill to persons outside its kinship group.

Should X commit adultery with the wife of a relative Y, and after the death of Y, this relationship continues or X marry the woman, the spirit of the deceased may inflict ill upon X. This is called *sungu lyakalunga* (jealousy from the world of the dead). This may be treated by a ceremony which includes a dance and drumming (*ngoma yamuzangu*). This must not be confused with ceremonies involving drumming associated with the *mahamba*.

If after the death of a spouse, the survivor remarries before the cleansing from the spirit of the deceased has been accomplished, the spirit of the deceased may inflict harm on the wife or husband of the the survivor who has thus remarried. In this case again it appears at first that an ancestral spirit may thus operate outside the strict kinship group. Presumably since the spirit is considered as forming a continuing part of the kinship group, a new person introduced into the group by marriage, lies open to being affected by a spirit from the group into which he or she has married.

Traditionally among these people on the death of a spouse, the survivor had to make payments to the relatives of the deceased. In the case of the male surviving, this amounted to the dowry originally paid, known as *jipepi* plus a further sum (*lifwako*). This would ensure his immunity from either evil activities by the spirit of the dead wife or her living relatives who had lost his periodic

gifts to them. If the wife survived, in addition to repayment of the dowry, she had to hand over a small sum as *lifwako*. This practice is still observed by the Mwinilunga Lunda, but at Balovale none of the native courts will entertain suits on this ground to-day, although quite a number of individuals continue to make the payments by private arrangements to ensure their immunity from jealousy of the deceased or its living relatives.

In the whole sphere of marital relations creating special links through the non-physical world, there is plenty of individual evidence that these practices are frequently not observed by the younger generation and except at Mwinilunga, native courts are refusing to entertain any suits arising out of this type of claim (and belief).

V. THE BIRTH OF CHILDREN

The departed spirit of a dead ancestor is invariably present in the birth of a child. The expression "reincarnated in the body of the child" is often used, but there are some objections to calling the process reincarnation. The same *mukishi* may be present in two or more persons simultaneously although we are told that the *mukishi* itself is an invisible concept, and is not shared or divided between several living persons.

It seems that in this respect the *mukishi* is a quickening or life-giving-factor in the birth. For instance it is sometimes said that a pregnant woman will feel when the *mukishi* gives life to the embryo in her uterus and she then realizes that the *mukishi* has begun to make its presence and influence felt though as yet its identity is unknown. This is not universally admitted but as it is claimed by some it seems worthy of record. Normally the identity of the *mukishi* will only be known after birth. Under certain circumstances if the birth proves difficult and labour is prolonged, recourse may be had to divination in order to ascertain the identity of the *mukishi* attendant upon the birth of the child, in order that it may be invoked to ensure an easy birth. The latter is done by marking the abdomen of the woman with white clay and the *mukishi* is addressed

by name. In such a case as the identity of the *mukishi* has already been ascertained it is unnecessary to hold a later divination to ascertain the child's name.

VI. THE NAME

After the child has been born and the umbilical cord has fallen off, the father of the child has recourse to a diviner to ascertain the name of the child. The child is not taken to the diviner. This divination is usually done with a pounding stick or an axe handle and the diviner then pronounces the name of the ancestral spirit after which it is to be named. This ancestor is sought among the Lunda only on the father's side and very exceptionally on the mother's side, the most usual blood relations of the father to be involved being father's brother, father's mother, grandparents, and the cousins and the nephews of the father. Among the other three tribes the *mukishi* may be sought on either the side of the father or of the mother; the general tendency to veer towards patrilineal succession, which seems to have derived in these areas from Lozi influence, is believed to be largely responsible among these three tribes for the modern preference to find the name of the child among the relatives of the father.

The *mukishi* itself, it may be noted, is sexless and a female *mukishi* may bring a male child to birth or vice versa. Among the Lunda the *mukishi* of the new born child is always said to be a dead relative; among the Lwena, Chokwe and Luchazi it is the practice to take the name the child from either a living or a dead relative, and these tribes do not assert that the spirit responsible for the birth is the spirit of a deceased ancestor. This at first appears to be a rather remarkable situation, but in as much as every person has his *mukishi* and the same *mukishi* may be responsible for more than one person's birth, it appears to be really a transference of the personality of the *mukishi* with the emphasis on an existing living person instead of a previously deceased one. It is called *lijina lyachimbi*—the navel name. One would be tempted to see

here an instance of the decay in the belief in the *akishi*, but so far as can be ascertained this feature of the three tribes mentioned is not a modern development.

After the divination, among the Lunda the father then returns to his village, and cuts a *muyombo* stick which he sets up by his house in the evening, placing by it some white beads. The next morning the child is brought with its mother, the father makes passes with white clay before the *muyombo*, calling on the spirit to treat the child kindly. He announces the name of the child's birth spirit, and welcomes it back into the community of the living, and marks the child with white clay at the corner of each eye, on the forehead and on the chest and dresses it with white beads round the neck, wrists and ankles, and blows into its ears to ensure that it will grow well and strongly.

Should the child prove very fractious after this it may be that an error was made in divining the name of the ancestral spirit and a further divination will be held. Melland states that during the divination the child may be given something to hold and if it throws the article down or cries, the suggested name is deemed to be wrong. I cannot reconcile this with my observations, as the child is never present at the divination. The name thus ascertained at the divination becomes the birth name of the child; originally it was taboo to reveal one's birth name to strangers but this taboo is no longer so strictly observed. Occasionally the divination may be dispensed with the child exhibits some peculiarity which immediately identifies it with a particular deceased ancestor to the satisfaction of all.

Among the Chokwe the child is given its name by a slightly different ceremony; the father sits holding a white bead and the mother comes and sits behind him with the child on her lap. The father then stretches his hands behind him without looking round and ties the white bead onto the wrist of the child, and gives the child its name. The *muyombo* is then set up and the usual invocation carried out. A white fowl and a plate are commonly dedicated at it and set aside for the eventual use of the child.

Among the Lwena it is not universal to use a *muyombo* stick; two sticks of cassava or a stick of *musole* or *musuhwa* may be used and the name of the child is announced after invocation but the child is not dressed with beads. A goat or some animal is then brought to the spirit pole and handed over to the guardians of the mother of the baby to keep in trust for the child together with its increase. If no stock is available a piece of cloth may be used or nowadays a sum of money. The cloth or money may be used to buy a goat or stock when opportunity arises, or the cloth may simply be worn by the relatives of the mother.

Among the Lunda the *mukishi* which brings about a birth has no special name; it is sometimes called *wejina*, the name spirit. Thus the *mukishi* acts as a giver of life and the new born member of the community is seen as the overt proof of the presence in the community of the spirit in question. Beyond this I do not think that one can speak of reincarnation.

Among the Lwena, Chokwe and Luchazi the birth spirit of a child is called *mukulu* and both the Lunda *mukishi* and the Lwena *mukulu* continue to take an interest in its earthly shape and may cause him illness at any time. Thus if a person kills an animal and fails to offer blood from it to his *muyombo*, the *mukulu* may afflict him. Thus and in other ways traditionally the *mukulu* inculcated respect for the elders.

When a child dies after naming but whilst an infant and the mother later produces another child, it may happen that on divination the subsequent child is found to have the same name as its predecessor which died. In such a case the child is said to be *kamfunti*, because the *mukishi* which quitted the deceased child has returned once more.

Among the Lwena, Chokwe and Luchazi this child is called *kahilu* (derived from *funta* and *hiluka*, to come back, return).

It may be said that the name is an integral element in the personality of a human being. The basic significance of this may be seen in the fact that no one mourns a child who dies before being named; in fact a child is not named until it actually shows signs of living.

At the puberty rites the symbolic death of the novices and subsequent re-birth is accompanied by a change of name. The name denotes personality and the grown up person abandons his child name because he divests himself of his child personality.

In former days it was regarded as dangerous to call at night from the village to another in the bush or from the bush to another in the village, or to shout a person's name lest an evil person acquire the information and use it for evil purposes. Because a name implies personality and the powers inherent in personality, a diviner or a wizard will give a human name to a magical apparatus. From this some have inferred the operation of a medium for divination. But this would appear to be an unnecessary assumption.

The general traditional procedures in naming a child have been set out. There are however some exceptions which are worthy of note. Among the Balovale Lunda if a child is born when a chief or important person is visiting a village, the child may be forthwith given that person's name and no divination will be held. In one such case the name of the District Commissioner was thus given to a newly born child. In the case of the Lwena and Chokwe, if a child is born whilst a stranger is at the village, the latter may bestow his name upon the child which receives no other birth name.

In certain cases where prior to the birth the mother has been receiving magical treatment, e.g. for sterility, the name of the child is automatic. Such names include *Chipango* and *Kamiji*, but in such cases the "spirit" name is given in addition. When a child has reached two or three years, it is usually given another name additional to its birth name, and this and the original birth name are often used indiscriminately. This is a recent development since formerly a child was only known by its birth name until puberty.

In *African Studies*, 7(1), March 1948, p. 44, Rev. J. T. Munday suggests that the use of the polite plural may have originated from the identification of the one with the many. It is certainly an interesting suggestion though the use of the second person plural in French and the third

person plural in Portuguese to denote politeness suggests that this is a common phenomenon in human beings generally. Among the Balovale tribes to-day at any rate there are signs that the use of the polite plural is somewhat in decline, though the Lunda continue to cling closely to it. Among the Lovale, Chokwe and Luchazi in this area to-day the second plural is commonly used to a senior on formal occasions, but otherwise the second singular is becoming more and more widely used for general purposes.

VII. MODERN TRENDS

Having thus sketched the traditional aspects of certain features of the ancestor cult, it remains to consider how far modern trends show that the ancestor cult is a force of conservatism or tending to decay. The aspects of animism which have been described are those in which the spirits operate in the community as a whole stressing the corporate nature of the community of the living and the dead.

So far as the *muyombo* tree is concerned, a few villages are springing up in which there are no *muyombo* trees and the growing tendency to build alone which is ever increasing amongst progressive individuals means that more and more individuals are living outside the formalized limits of the village community. Moreover migrant labour living in mine compounds on the Copperbelt finds that life continues with no serious consequences from the absence of a *muyombo* for invocations. The new individualism which is supplanting the old formalized corporate society means that the village head who, under the traditional rules of succession, was an elderly individual is less and less regarded as the head of the group. Younger and better educated men make a greater success under modern economic conditions than their ignorant elders, and the sanctions which once existed in the form of fear that the *mukulu* of the elder would take revenge upon the living for slights during the elder's life time no longer carry weight. Crops are grown and eaten without propitiatory ceremonies before cultivation or thanksgiving when reaped.

In the sphere of marital relations it has been pointed out above that the payments of *jipepi* and of *lifwako* are no longer enforced by native courts and the only sanction is the extent to which the individual believes that failure to absolve himself will bring down the displeasure of a spirit. It is not fortuitous that only the Mwini-lunga Lunda, the most strongly conservative of these north-western people continue to treat the payment of these death moneys as a right actionable in their courts.

No where has the decay of the ancestral influence been more pronounced than in the sphere of names and their implications. Cases are now known where names have been given by young people to their children without any reference to the ancestral names. E.g. a girl's daughter, born after her divorce from her husband was named after the girl's sister-in-law of whom she was very fond. In another case A went away leaving a pregnant wife who gave birth just as A's brother returned from the industrial areas: the brother on seeing the newly born child announced that it should be named John. Although A on his return proposed to give the child an ancestral name, all the other relatives refused to accept this and insisted that the child had already been named. It is also observed that among Africans in this area with a strong background of Portuguese acculturation there is an increasing tendency to adopt European names at birth and disregard the ancestral spirit names.

Thus the weight of our evidence is that there is here a steady weakening of the power of the ancestor cult. Although missionary influence has played its part in preaching Christianity to replace the ancestor cult, it is quite erroneous to suppose that even a majority of the individuals who have abandoned many of their ancestral cult practices are Christians. Observation shows that a preponderance of them must be called sceptics or agnostics rather. This weakening of the ancestral cult is symptomatic of a more wide-spread phenomenon which includes the growth of individualism, the breaking down of the traditional ties and obligations within the family and the weakening of the influence of traditional native

authorities, since both the chief and the family in this original traditional form derived much of their strength from sanctions inherent in the ancestral cult. The speed with which the process has developed and the extent to which it has penetrated is not wholly dependent on external influences, of which in this area the two most important are the impact of urbanization through migrant labour and the effect of European acculturation through Portuguese culture contacts with Angola. In many spheres there is evidence to show that these Portuguese culture contacts in this respect have been a much more potent factor than British culture contacts in Northern Rhodesia. But in addition the internal cohesion of the tribal body based on its traditional organi-

zation must be considered. It is significant that the Lunda with their more strongly centralized traditional organization have shown greater resistance to the process of disintegration in the field of the ancestral cult, whilst the Lwena, Chokwe and Luchazi with their weak internal organization have shown greater signs of a decaying ancestral cult in so far as the ancestral cult concerns the group. The extent to which the *mahamba* which represent the ancestral cult at an individual level have decayed is a different story which must be left for a separate study. In the community aspect at least there seems little doubt that in these areas the star of the ancestral cult is waning, though by no means extinguished.

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THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO THE IZIBONGO OF THE ZULU MILITARY AGE

C. L. S. NYEMBEZI

PART II

Dingane and the Dutch

The year 1836 saw the beginning of the Great Trek. One party under Piet Retief went to the Free State and from there to Natal. They went to Dingane to ask for land. Dingane received them kindly. He wanted to convince himself, however, that these strange people were not up to mischief. He accused them of having stolen his cattle but they denied that charge and stated that it must be Sikonyela's people, for on their way they had observed that Sikonyela's people used guns. Dingane told them to recover those cattle for him first, before they could come to any agreement. The Boers were convinced that Sikonyela must be the culprit responsible for the theft of the cattle and they went to him. By a ruse they managed to handcuff him, and Sikonyela, alive to the danger in which he had placed himself surrendered the cattle he had stolen from Dingane. The Boers took those cattle to Dingane who expressed great pleasure to receive them. He decided to entertain the Boers and invited them to a beer party and dance in his kraal. According to Zulu custom they were to leave their arms at the gate. The warriors stood up to entertain the guests with what results we know too well. The Dutch were destroyed almost to a man. Warriors were then despatched to Weenen where other Dutch people were, and there another massacre was enacted. And so Dingane became known as

Izibuko likaNdaba
Elimadwal' abushenzezi
Lashelel' uPiti nendodana
Od! umzibelibeli kumaBunu
Wad! uPhuzukuhlokoza kumaBunu
Wad! uHwahwini kumaBunu

Wad! uJanomude kumaBunu
Wad! uJanejembuluki kumaBunu
Wad! uMazinyansasa kumaBunu
Wad! oSisini kumaBunu
Wad! imhloph' imbili
Omunye kunguPiti omunye kungu Noziwawa.
(The ford of Nda6a
Which has slippery rocks
There Piet Retief slipped and the son ;
Who devoured Mzibelibeli with the Dutch
And devoured Phuzukuhlokoza with the Dutch
And devoured Hwahwini with the Dutch
And devoured long Jan with the Dutch
And devoured Janejembuluki with the Dutch
And devoured Mazinyansasa with the Dutch
And devoured Sisini and others with the Dutch
And devoured two Whites
One being Piet and the other being Noziwawa.)

The Zulu bards did not know the proper names of the Boers and so they gave them their own.

Opinion is not unanimous on the version of this episode as has just been given. Although the Dutch people claim to have come to Natal expressly to ask for land, another version states that they were really following their cattle which were taken by Dingane's army when it had gone to attack Mzilikazi. When Mzilikazi fled, he left his herds behind and the army collected these and the cattle of the Dutch who had camped not far away. When they came to the men who were driving the cattle away and demanded their cattle, the drivers told them they could not hand over the cattle without the permission of the *induna* who was already ahead. The Dutch then galloped along after the *induna* and eventually overtook him. They told him that their cattle were in the herd that was being

driven away and that they had come to fetch them. The supposed *induna* on hearing that, expressed great regret that they should have travelled all that distance to him instead of negotiating with the *induna* who was in the group driving the cattle. And so the Dutch went back. "No," said the drivers, "he was but making fun of you. He is the real *induna*." The Dutch failed to get their cattle but they decided to follow on.

This contention which is quite common in Zululand is also recorded by Stuart. He records the campaign against Mzilikazi by Dingane. This story was told to Stuart by Ngidi kaMcikaziswa was Langeni. Ngidi says: "*Iyona lempi ebiphunywe yithina, eyachith' izwe ngoba sabuya nomlungu uPiti.*"¹ (This is the same campaign in which we took part which destroyed the country because we returned with a European, Piet.)

In a footnote² Stuart writes: "*AbakwaZulu bath' amaBunu exa kuDingane ngob' elandela zona izinkomo ezadliwa impi kwa-Mzilikazi, bethi kukhona ezabo phakathi kwazo. Loxonkomo zaboke kwathiwa ezamahole ngoba zahola amaBunu.*" (The Zulus say the Dutch came to Dingane following these same cattle which were captured by the army at Mzilikazi's, saying there were their cattle among them. These cattle of theirs were then called the "drawers" because they drew the Dutch.)

That the Zulu army did actually take the cattle of the Boers is supported by Stuart in the same footnote just quoted. "*Kant' amaBunu babeyozizela nje, noma impi ingazidlanga izinkomo zabo. nayo indaba yezinkomo zabo yakhulunywa.*" (Whereas the Dutch would still come even if the army had not taken their cattle the matter of their cattle was also discussed.)

Again that Dingane actually gave the signal for the killing of the Dutch has been queried on the grounds that Dingane at that time of the arrival of the Dutch was being treated in preparation for the first fruits ceremony. According to custom Dingane could not move out at that time and the person who actually ordered the killing of the Dutch was Nzofo one of his chief *indunas*. Again the statement that the order for the killing was

bulalani abathakathi is refuted for the signal was but a mere whistle.

In a footnote³ in his *Oral and Written Literature in Nguni* Dr. Vilakazi writes: "A well known theory is that Dingane plotted the death of the Voortrekkers. But investigations from the old people have shown that the women in the royal palace, annoyed with the behaviour of some of Retief's followers, and fearing the horses which they saw for the first time and therefore linked with bad omens, urged the regiments to destroy the Voortrekkers."

Another puzzling thing is, why did Dingane kill the Dutch? The popular explanation in the past has been that he remembered the dying words of his brother Shaka and saw in the Dutch the "swallows of the heavens" that had been prophesied. Perhaps that is the explanation; but why was Rev. Owen spared? He had been with Dingane for some time and was present when the Dutch were killed but he escaped their fate. Why? Why were the settlers in Port Natal spared? True enough they feared him. As Farrer⁴ says: "Difficulties soon arose when Dingane thus became rightful king over the Natal settlers. It being the custom of Zulu kings to cut off friends and supporters of a late king the settlers seemed to have shown some reasonable fears in not going to the king's kraal when they received a summons to do so. The result was that the king sent some troops to burn the huts and drive off the cattle of Cane, a settler who had succeeded to the position of Farewell." There is no evidence that he was bent on a wholesale destruction of the Durban settlement. When the settlers asked him to restore the cattle, he was prepared to do so provided the settlers surrendered the seven chiefs who had taken refuge at the settlement.

With the settlers he went to the extent of making a treaty⁵ which ran as follows: "Dingane from this period, consents to waive all claim to the persons and property of every individual now residing at Port Natal in consequence of their having deserted from him and accords them his full pardon. He still, however, regards them as his sub-

¹ STUART, *Baxosole*, p. 117. ² Idem, p. 117. ³ VILAKAZI, B. W., *Oral and Written Literature in Nguni*, p. 00.

⁴ FARRER, J. A., *Zululand and the Zulus*, p. 19.

⁵ FARRER, J. A., *Zululand and the Zulus*, p. 21.

jects liable to be sent for whenever he may think proper.

"The British residents at Port Natal, on their part, engage for the future never to receive or harbour any deserter from the Zulu country or any of its dependencies and to use every endeavour to secure and return to the king every such individual endeavouring to find an asylum among them.

"Should a case arise in which this is found to be impracticable immediate intelligence, stating the particulars of the circumstances, is to be forwarded to Dingane."

It was only when the settlers began attacking Zululand and carrying away women and children¹ that war ensued with Dingane.

Everything thus seems to indicate that if Dingane was suspicious that the Dutch were the swallows prophesied by Shaka, they also added to his growing suspicions. The guards reported that they had observed the Dutch trying to encircle the king's kraal at night. Another version is that the Dutch were not actually seen making this attempt but numerous horse hoofs were observed one morning round the king's kraal. The only people who had horses were the Dutch and the question was, what were they doing round the king's kraal? This convinced Dingane and his chief *indunas* that the Dutch were up to no good; hence their fate.

The Swazi

Dingane is also praised as

Ibaka lamanzi lawoNdikidi

Lisibekel' inkomo zamaSwazi zanyamalala.

(The pool of water of Ndikidi and others

It covered the cattle of the Swazis and they disappeared.)

Shaka had struck terror into the hearts of many people and chief Sobhuza of the Swazis was no exception. Thus it was a great relief to him to learn that Shaka had died. He had no idea that Dingane still represented a great deal of trouble. Dingane's armies had nothing to do at home and to keep them from mutiny Dingane had to find them employment elsewhere. He decided on Sobhuza the Swazi

king. The first attack of the Zulus seems to have been attended with failure. Meanwhile Sobhuza died and at the time his heir Mswazi was still a minor; a regent had to act for him. Then some out of hand Swazis thought it a great sport to cross the Zululand border and drive away Zulu cattle. The sport proved to be a very expensive one. Dingane sent his army once more but with little success due to the fact that the Swazis had hidden themselves and their cattle in a cave which placed any invader in an unenviable position. It was not until the army under Ndlela along with some Europeans carrying guns arrived that the Swazis were persuaded to surrender. Then Dingane got to be called

Umkhont' owadum' ekusen' eSwazini

Wadl' uNdomba, induna kaMswazi, eSwazini

Wadl' uGebuz' izulu ezinduneni zikaMswazi

Wadl' uHoho eSwazini

Wadl' uSiphika eSwazini.

(The spear that thundered in the morning in Swaziland

And devoured Ndomba, Mswazi's headman in Swaziland

And devoured Gebuz' izulu amongst the headmen of Mswazi

And devoured Hoho in Swaziland

And devoured Siphika in Swaziland.)

Dingane was not always successful against the Swazis, however. After his defeat at Blood River, he fled up north. Perhaps to heal the wounds of defeat he sent an army to attack the Sotho and another party was sent against Mswazi but this party was badly beaten.

Beje

At Ngome forest there is a cave where Beje the Khumalo chief used to hide when there was imminent danger. This cave was so situated that there was only one way of getting into it—by climbing up a tall tree. One could not get into the cave descending from above. Into this forest Beje would drive his cattle and then climb up the tree into this cave. Shaka got to know of this hiding place and he decided to teach Beje a lesson. One

¹ FARRER, J. A., *Zululand and the Zulus*, p. 24.

day, hearing that the enemy was approaching, Beje climbed up the tree and went into his cave. Shaka ordered that Beje's ladder, the tree, be cut down. Beje remained in his cave completely helpless. He did not die though, for we meet him again during the reign of Dingane. The Ngome forest had served Beje well, although in the attacks by Shaka he had lost many cattle.

Beje and Mzilikazi belonged to the same clan, the Khumalo clan, and because Beje was also a chief in his own right, Dingane found it fitting to visit the sins of Mzilikazi on Beje. He sent his army which succeeded in bringing Beje out of his hiding place and the cattle. Dingane knew that the Khumalos hid their cattle in the forest. The army was instructed to go into the forest to look for the cattle and bring them out. Hence the praises

Obambath' iNgome ngaphezulu

Zaphum' izinkomo zikaBeje zamlandela.

(Who patted the Ngome forest above

And there came out the cattle of Beje and followed him.)

Here again one has to suspect that these praises might have been Shaka's. True enough Beje managed to escape Shaka but not without loss. It is strange that in his praises nothing whatsoever is said about his relation with Beje.

Character

Before dismissing this section on Dingane, it is fitting that we should examine his character as portrayed by the praises. It is generally held that Dingane was very cunning. The praises describe him as having been like still waters which run deep. He was of a nature that was not easy to fathom. The comparison with water brings out his character very clearly.

Isizi6' esisemavivane Dingane

Isizi6' esinxonzo sinxonzobe

Siminxsis' umuntu eth' uyageza.

(The pool at Mavivane Dingane

The deep pool is still

It drowns a person when he attempts to wash.)

¹ Senzangakhona's sister. ² Close, quiet, reserved.

³ Talking much.

Again this comparison with water is observed in

Ibaka lamanzi lawoNdikidi¹

Lisibekel' izinkomo zamaSwazi zanyamalala.

(The pool of water of Ndikidi and others

It covered the Swazi cattle and they disappeared.)

Again we find the same idea of his unfathomable nature in the praises

Inzima eyiwukwena koMkhumbane

Khona kwena kungafakwa lunyawo.

(The black one which is the rich growth of the Mkhumbane

Where growth becomes so thick that no foot can be put in.)

Dingane's cunning was accompanied by extreme caution

UMalunguz' izindonga kad' ukuwela.

(He who peers into dongas before crossing.)

This caution was an outcome of constant anxiety. On examining his praises one gets an impression that he never felt altogether at ease.

Indlovu lekulala kuNgqowambayiya

Ezinye ziyalala ziyathokoza.

(The elephant whose sleep is fit^{ul}

Others sleep, they are happy.)

He preferred to be quiet letting few people know what his real ideas were. In this he formed a contrast with Shaka.

Singqungqu² kakhulumi, kanamlomo

Anjenga Shaka,

Yen' owayeqed' umuzi ngokunkenkeza³

(The reserved one he does not speak, he has no mouth

He is not like Shaka

Who used to finish a kraal speaking.)

This nature of seeming softness is further illustrated in the praises

Imbuzi kaDambuzi⁴

Abayibambe ngendlebe yabekezela

Ayinjengeka Mdlaka⁵ ngaseNtshoboxeni⁶

Yen' ayibambe ngendlebe

⁴ Nzofo kaSobadli, Dingane's *induna*.

⁵ Shaka's *induna*. ⁶ Mdlaka's kraal.

Yadabula yaged' amadoda.

(The goat of Dambuza

Which they caught by the ear and it persevered

It is not like Mdlaka's, near Ntshobozeni

Who held it by the ear

And it broke loose and destroyed men.)

He was thus able to give people a very false impression of himself. His act of sending Mpande the ten head of cattle is one instance to illustrate his complex nature. One who did not know him was likely to be deceived and awaken to his danger too late

UVezi ng'infunyane bemzila

Ngafike ngamudla

Kanti ngizifak' iloy 'esiswini.

(Vezi I found them shunning him

And I devoured him

Whereas I was stuffing myself with poison in
the stomach.)

Another line which may be interpreted in the same way is

UVezi bath' umoya mnandi ngokunuk' inyama.

(Vezi they say is sweet breathed by smelling
meat.)

That means that his external appearance was deceptive in as much as the smell of meat will temporarily suppress the bad breath that one might have. But the smell of meat is something that does not last long but fades after a while when

the bad breath again re-asserts itself. Such was Dingane's nature.

Some of the praises however have nothing to do with his character but describe his personal appearance.

UVemvane lukaPhunga noMageba

Uvemvan' olumabal' azibadu

Ngiba ngiyaluthinta kwahwaqabala.

(The butterfly of Phunga and Mageba

The butterfly with large spots

Whenever I touch it it frowns.)

To appreciate these lines it is necessary to know, that the family of Senzangakhona was very hairy. They had large dark patches of hair on their bodies. We know that many butterflies are spotted and to the bard these hairy patches gave the appearance of a spotted butterfly. In Shaka's praises we also find the praises

UVemvane lukaPhunga

Lumabal' azizinge sengath' abekiwe.

(The butterfly of Phunga

With round spots as though deliberately placed.)

Again Dingane is described as

UBungebu ongaboya bengonyama.

(The hairy one with hair like that of a lion.)

We are not aware that Mpande and Cetshwayo had these patches on their bodies but Mbuyazwe certainly had, for he was praised as

Indlov' enesihlonti.

(The elephant with a tuft [of hair].)

III

IZIBONGO ZIKAMPANDE

To Dingane out in the North came death the necessary end. Of his death are contradictory reports. Some aver that he was taken captive by Sobhuza the Swazi chief and was tortured to death. This was the report given and popularized by the Dutch. The Zulus on the other hand state that Dingane went and hid himself in a forest where he came into loggerheads with the Swazis for letting his cattle eat their crops. Whilst his warriors were

away hunting, a traitor told the Swazis that Dingane was alone and the Swazis attacked him and stabbed him on the thigh and he died from loss of blood. Some say he was stabbed by the Swazis but the wound was not fatal. The wound that killed him is said to have been dealt by one of his own men. Be that as it may, the fact remains that Dingane died leaving his brother Mpande on the throne.

Mpande was a peace loving man, and not a

blood thirsty king like Dingane and Shaka. In fact he was not regarded as dangerous nor ambitious. Dingane was not so convinced however of the pacific Mpande. In him he saw a potential rival and he wanted to kill the

Inkonyane kaNdaḁa
Eyakhula beyizonda.
 (The calf of Ndaḁa
 Which grew up hated.)

Ndlela kaSompisi Ntuli, Dingane's chief *induna*, pleaded for Mpande, calling Mpande *isilinyana esi-nomchoḁoko* (the little fool with palsy); and thus Mpande managed to escape the fate of his other brothers.

Unlike his brothers, Mpande fought no major wars except the battle of Maqongqo where he was aided by or was aiding the Dutch against Dingane. The second incident was when he went to fetch stolen cattle from the Swazis after Dingane's death.

When Mpande became king all his brothers except Gqugqu had died. They had been killed by Dingane. Because Mpande was almost all by himself he was praised as

USima yedwa njengelanga
Lona limi lodwa ezukwini.
 (He who stands alone like the sun
 Which stands alone in the heavens.)

Again he was praised as
Intonga yethusi
Eyasala kweziny' izinduku.
 (The brass rod
 Which remained from the other sticks.)

Mpande's rise to power was rather unexpected. He was younger than Shaka and Dingane and was rather sickly. He commanded very little respect. Even when he grew up we hear nothing of his exploits of valour. A kraal was built for him at Hlo-mendlini and he had regiments that stayed with him. To escape the wrath of Dingane he crossed the Tugela and many people followed him. Mpande thus became more and more important. When ultimately he defeated Dingane and became king of the Zulus this description fitted him well:

Usanda sithebeni njengensonyama.
 (The spreader on the mat like the flank.)

¹ Head plume.

Mpande crosses the Tugela

Mpande's praises open by referring to an incident of great importance in the history of the Zulus.

UMsimude
Owavela ngesiluba¹
Phakathi kwamaNgisi namaQhadasi²
Inkonjan' edukel' ezukwini.)
 (Msimude
 Who appeared by the plume
 Amongst the English and the Dutch
 The swallow that strayed to heaven.)

This is the event of the crossing of Mpande to the Dutch.

We have seen above how Dingane killed Piet Retief and his men, and how later on the camp at Weenen was attacked. This was followed by the battle of Blood River where Dingane was badly beaten and he fled northwards. As his ranks were already badly depleted he sent to Mpande for more men as Mpande had his own regiments. Mpande refused. Dingane was very angry at this and he devised a plan by which he would get Mpande and kill him. He selected ten fat heifers and sent them to Mpande bidding him milk and eat with his children. Dingane was positive that such a generous gift would surely bring Mpande post haste to him to express his gratitude. The trap had been neatly set. Had Mpande fallen into it perhaps Zulu history would have been very different to-day. But he did not bite. Ndlela kaSompisi, minding once more the continuance of the Zulu royal family, sent word to Mpande through one of the messengers driving cattle, Nxagwana, warning Mpande not to fall into the trap but to cross the Tugela at once and seek protection of the white men. That was the second time that Ndlela had come in between Mpande and death. As soon as Dingane's messengers turned their backs Mpande issued instructions and the exodus began.

Mdayi sabela kweliphesheya
Izalukazi ziyawusal' emanxiweni
Amaxheg' ayawusala emizileni
Isikhukhulane sikaNdaḁa
Sikhukhul' omame sabetshatha

² Dutch.

Saye sabalahla ezinkwazini
Ezinkwazini zemifula
Ezinkwazini zoThukela.

(Mdayi! respond to the country across
 Old women will remain in the deserted kraals
 The old men will remain in the trail
 The flood of Nda6a
 It swept the mothers and carried them on the
 shoulders
 And threw them on the shores
 On the shores of rivers
 On the shores of the Tugela.)

This incident is referred to in Zulu history as *ukudabuka kweGoda* (the breaking of the rope) because it marked the splitting of the Zulus, one party following Dingane and another party following Mpande. The praises just quoted and many others which follow, all refer to this incident. As the praises indicate, Mpande did not take warriors only but swept away everything.

"Meanwhile great excitement was caused among the whites by the fear of these neighbours : it was difficult to believe that they were refugees. The grave proceeding resolved on by Panda was in their eyes only a great scheme for authorizing the entrance into their territory of the army of Dingane, of Dingane their sworn enemy, who refused the payment of an acknowledged debt, and whose dishonest intentions had been so well unmasked. Panda was as much distrusted as Dingane himself."¹

And in order to assure themselves that no treachery was being attempted, some of the Dutch went to Mpande's camp to interrogate him, and extracted from him an assurance that all was well.

UMnguni wahlala phansi
Wavumis' izinda6' ezilukhuni
Ezikhulunywa ku6o kwaMalandela.
 (And Mnguni sat down
 And divined of the terrible things
 Discussed at his home at Malandela's.)

They were quickly assured that Mpande was not trying to double cross them. Further they were happy because Mpande was prepared to pay the cattle which Dingane had refused to pay. Mpande

regarded the Dutch as his friends and his protectors and he wanted to indicate clearly that he was a friend :

Wadel' izinkomo
Wazinik' amadoda
Wath' ayomhlabanela
Wathi ihlathi lokuphephela.
 (He forsook the cattle
 And gave them to the men
 And said they would fight for him
 And said they were a forest for refuge.)

Although Dingane had suffered heavy losses, he was still a source of great danger to Mpande and the Dutch. Again the Dutch were anxious to make Mpande king of the Zulus, but this they could not do whilst Dingane was still alive. Thus from their point of view there was every reason for the complete destruction of Dingane. No doubt it also pleased the Dutch to have the Zulus destroying themselves.

Maqongqo

An alliance having been made between Mpande and the Dutch, preparations were made for dealing Dingane his knock out blow. The two opposing armies met at Maqongqo. It was this battle that gave Mpande the praises

Izulu elidume phezu kwaMaqongqo omabili
Laduma lazithath' izihlangu zombebele
Lazithath' izihlangu zikaBulawayo
Lazithath' izihlangu zeziNyosi
Lazithath' izihlangu zoDlambedu
Lazithath' izihlangu zikaNomdayana
Lazithath' izihlangu zoMgumanqa.

(The storm which thundered on the two Maqongqo hills

It thundered and took the shields of the M6elebele

It took the weapons of Bulawayo

It took the weapons of Izinyosi

And took the weapons of the Dlambedu

And took the weapons of Nomdayana

And took the weapons of Mgumanqa.)

These praises indicate the regiments that Dingane sent to the battle that day. There is some uncertainty here however ; from other sources we

¹ BIRD, *Annals of Natal*, Vol. I, p. 554.

learn that only the Izinyosi and the uDlambedu regiments fought. It is alleged that Ndlela kaSompisi who was in command of Dingane's armies did not favour the idea of Dingane winning. He was still following his policy of saving Mpande's skin. Being in charge of the army he sent out two regiments only. Had Ndlela not done so Mpande probably would have been beaten. It was in that battle that some brave warriors fell; men like uNozishada kaMaqhofoza

USehla ngandwana yakhe yedwana.

(He who descends by his own path.)

When Dingane got to know that Mpande had joined forces with the Dutch, he became rather apprehensive. He began to feel that there was no way of escape. His enemies were encircling him. There was Sobhuza and Mzilikazi in the north-east; there were the Dutch in the south and the west and the sea in the east. He was bottled up. Then he decided to send messengers to the Dutch requesting them not to attack him and promising to pay the cattle he had been ordered to pay the Dutch in reparation of damage done. Dambuza alias Nzofo kaSobadli, a great warrior and one of Dingane's chief *indunas*, was sent to the Dutch as envoy to place Dingane's offer and plea. With him was Sikhombazana. When these messengers arrived the Dutch arrested them. They were charged with perpetrating untold crimes in Zululand and also accused of being Dingane's evil genius. Dingane's acts of violence and bloodshed were placed at their feet. Mpande was consulted on the matter and he recommended that they be killed for they were bad men

USongo lensimbi yako Ndikidi

Ehidi' uDambuza benoSikhombazana.

(The iron ring of Ndikidi's kraal

Which devoured Dambuza and Sikhombazana.)

Nzofo did not attempt to save his own skin but he put in a word for Sikhombazana who could not have had the opportunity of doing the things for which they were charged. His plea fell on deaf ears and both envoys were shot, which surprised Dingane a lot.

An account of the trial of Dambuza and Sikhombazana by the Dutch appears in Bird's *Annals of*

Natal (Vol. I, page 583). How far true this account is, is not open to question. It seems strange, however, that Mpande should have reported to the Dutch that he had been saved by his step mother from being killed by Dingane when it was Ndlela who had saved him, and Mpande knew it. Further it seems strange that Mpande should have grouped his saviour Ndlela with Nzofo.

The Swazi

When Dingane died, Mpande thought he would accomplish what his brother had failed to achieve by subduing the Swazis. The first attempt was unsuccessful. Although beaten in battle, the Swazis betook themselves into their caves and then remained without fear of danger. The cattle had been driven into the caves before. The Zulus, though victors, had an empty victory without booty.

Later the Zulus again marched against the Swazis. This time the Swazis did not even venture to make a stand but merely retired into the caves. On seeing this, the Zulus piled old skins and shields at the mouths of the caves and set them on fire. The army drove away the few cattle that had been left out.

Another story states that the Swazis hid their cattle at the time when Mpande was fighting Dingane. Mpande after defeating Dingane went back home. When the Swazis saw the Zulu army going away, they took out the cattle from the caves. Mpande then dispatched the Bulawayo regiment to go back and capture these cattle.

Inhlehlanyovane kaNdafa.

Ihlehlele futhi ngoBulawayo

Ihlehlele' izinkomo zamaSwazi.

(The backward mover of Ndafa.

He went back by Bulawayo

He went for the cattle of the Swazis.)

Unless the Bulawayo regiment had split into two, one section going with Mpande and another going with Dingane, it is difficult to understand how Mpande could have sent this regiment to capture the Swazi cattle, because this regiment was fighting for Dingane at Maqongqo. The only explanation would seem to be that this attack on the

Swazis did not take place immediately after the fight at Maqongqo. A space of time must have elapsed to allow for these people who had been attached to Dingane to cast their lot with Mpande.

These are presumably the only times when Mpande sent an army to Swaziland. He would have sent a third time no doubt, were it not that the Swazis effectively foiled his plans by forming an alliance with Sir Theophilus Shepstone. Sobuza gave his daughter Tifokati to Shepstone and Shepstone sent word to Mpande that the Swazis should no longer be molested as they were his friends.

There is no evidence that Mpande took any royal captives during these two campaigns. What seems to have happened is this — Mswazi at the death of his father Sobuza was a minor. His elder half-brother Malambule and his uncle Somcufa acted as regents. When Mswazi took up on reaching his majority, Malambule took for himself an appreciable number of the royal herds. Mswazi was angered by this and he despatched an army to recover these cattle and kill Malambule. The cattle were recovered but Malambule had run away. He sought shelter first with Sigweje and then with Rev. Allison who, with Mswazi's permission, had settled at Mahamba. Mswazi followed and killed Malambule and then drove out of his domain the missionaries who dared to harbour his enemies. Mswazi also drove out Sigweje's people.

No doubt these praises are connected with the flight of Malambule from the wrath of Mswazi.

Lalelani lowo omemezayo
Umemeza sengath' nyakhala
Sengath' ukhal' isililo
UMalambule benoSidubelo
Benonina kaPhenduka
*Bamemeze behlez' eMfihlweni*¹
Eathi godl' ekhwapheni
Lukhozi lukaNdaBa
Olumaphikw' aBanzi
Lufulel' oSomhashi noFabase
Lufulel' uNdengezi ezakwa uMayibuka.
 (Listen to that one who is shouting
 He shouts as though he is crying
 As though he is lamenting

¹ Malambule's kraal.

Malambule and Sidubelo
 And the mother of Phenduka
 Shouted sitting at Mfihlweni
 And said hide under your arm-pit
 Eagle of NdaBa
 Whose wings are broad
 It covered Somhashi and Fabase
 It covered Ndengezi born of Mayibuka.)

If then Mpande took no royal captives during his two campaigns, why should he be praised as

Weza noMalambule kwaBakaSobuza
Weza noSidubelo kwaBakaSobuza
Weza noThekwane kwaBakaSobuza
Weza noMgidla kwaBakaSobuza

(He came with Malambule among those of Sobuza

And came with Sidubelo among those of Sobuza
 And came with Thekwane among those of Sobuza

And came with Mgidla among those of Sobuza.)

It is known that some Swazi refugees arrived in Zululand during the reign of Mpande. Although these people arrived sometime later after Mpande's campaigns, the tendency would be to ascribe their coming to these campaigns; that he went there and when he left they followed. As Malambule himself never reached Zululand it seems reasonable to assume that although his name is mentioned it is actually his followers that are referred to.

Ndengezi kaMayibuka

Why was Mpande referred to as the eagle which covered Ndengezi son of Mayibuka? Before Mpande died, Cetshwayo was already virtual king. Mpande had lost control altogether. The incident of Ndengezi is a good illustration. Mkhungo, one of Cetshwayo's brothers, eloped with eight of Cetshwayo's women. A search party was sent out and he was overtaken at Helpmekaar. He was delivered to his pursuers by Gwalagwala with whom he was hiding. Cetshwayo got to know that Mkhungo had spent some time with Ndengezi kaMayibuka Tende and that Ndengezi had slaughtered a beast for him. Asked why he had honoured Mkhungo so much, Ndengezi replied that he had no option as

Mkhungo was the son of Mpande and he could not leave him to starve. Ndengezi was taken to a hut and suspended from the roof by means of leather thongs tied round his arms. A fire of dried cow dung was kindled below Ndengezi, not big enough to burn, but only sufficient to raise smoke. Ndengezi pleaded for mercy but his cries died unheeded. Even Mpande could not help him. Ndengezi was left to suffer the whole night and was only released in the morning. Cetshwayo then gave him and Mkhungo a beast each as if he had forgiven them. Mpande warned them to run away because the two beasts were a parting gift before they met their doom.

Mlotsha, Fabase, Sikwata, Klwana

Mlotsha was the son of Siwele and was a cousin of Beje. He was the head of the Nkosi clan. When Mzilikazi fled with Shaka's cattle, Shaka turned to Mlotsha (or Mletshe) who was of the same clan. Mlotsha did not surrender at first but attempted a siege in his mountain fortress. But his supplies were inadequate and he was soon forced out to plead for mercy. Shaka pardoned him. When Shaka died, Dingane wanted to kill Mlotsha as he had killed other friends of Shaka. Dingane was not successful however. Mpande managed to draw him out of his mountain stronghold and although many of his followers perished there, Mlotsha escaped.

Fabase was probably a chief of some Sotho clan living west of Swaziland. Shaka had previously sent a regiment to destroy Fabase but of the real outcome of this expedition we do not know. Whatever happened, Fabase himself escaped because he figured again during the reign of Mpande. This raid was a minor one however.

Sikwata was the son of Thulwane (Tholoane) and chief of the Pedi. It was Sikwata and his people that Mswazi had tried to drive out of Swaziland but failed. When Mswazi heard of the impending Zulu attack, he turned his attention to preparations for this attack, forgetting Sikwata, for a while. Mpande failed to get anything from the Swazis during his first attack. Rather than go back empty handed the Zulu army turned on

Sikwata who was not far away. But even there very little loot was got.

Klwana son of Ngqengelele was one of Dingane's minor *indunas*. Klwana also took part in Dingane's Mzilikazi campaign. At Maqongqo Klwana was still fighting on the side of Dingane. Mpande is likened unto trees which men like Klwana failed to fell.

Jobe KaGece

The name Jobe son of Gece of the Sithole clan dates back to Shaka's time. The Sithole's were not a powerful clan then and were the neighbours of the Thembus under Ngoza. Shaka had gone to attack Ngoza but on that occasion he did not actually take part in the fight. He was watching the progress of the fight from a hill-top. It was there that Jobe as he walked about found him. The two were unknown to each other. Shaka did not disclose his identity. Later, however, one of Shaka's messengers came to report the results of the battle to Shaka and thus disclosed Shaka's identity to Jobe. For that indiscretion the messenger was promptly put to death. Jobe did nothing to impede Shaka's escape and for that Ngoza was greatly annoyed. Jobe then told Ngoza that Shaka said he would collect a huge army to crush him once and for all. Ngoza was aware that he could not again hope to be successful against Shaka and he decided to go to the Cape where he met his death at the hands of the Pondos.

Jobe had gained favour in Shaka's eyes and he was given charge over the land where the present Utrecht stands, stretching along the mountains as far as Bergville. His kraal was at Lenge now called Job's Kop (Jobe's Kop). Not all the Thembus had gone away with Ngoza, and when they realized that Jobe had become an important figure they placed themselves under his care. Thus did Jobe rise to a position of eminence.

When Shaka died Dingane looked round and put to death all those who had been Shaka's friends. Jobe was aware that this would happen; and before his turn came, he hastened to make friends with Dingane and so avoided death.

Then followed the split between Dingane and Mpande. It became evident that one of the two would have to give away and Joŋe, cute as ever, realized that chances seemed to favour Mpande. He accordingly made friends with Mpande. Mpande must have been aware of the relations that existed between Joŋe and Dingane and was perhaps not favourably impressed by these overtures. Apparently Joŋe convinced the Dutch of his good faith until some time later when it came to light that he had hidden some cattle which he should have delivered to the Dutch. Whether

Mpande actually got hold of Joŋe's cattle is not definite but all the same it was not because he did not try. Otherwise he would not be praised as

Inzingelez' kaNdaŋa

Ngokuzingelezel' izinkomo zikaMswazi kaSobuza
Wazingezel' izinkomo zikaJoŋe kaGece.

(The encircler of Ndaŋa

By surrounding the cattle of Mswazi son of Sobuza.

And encircling the cattle of Joŋe son of Gece.)

Mpande lived to a ripe old age and unlike his brothers he died a natural death.

IV

IZIBONGO ZIKACETSHWAYO

The reign of Cetshwayo marks the final eclipse of the Zulus as a military power. The decline was not gradual but sudden. Sudden in that although a formidable army could still have been gathered after the defeat of Cetshwayo, means were taken to frustrate any such moves. Mpande was not a warlike king and during his reign the regiments greatly increased in numbers. When Cetshwayo became king he could command a very large army. That he was very confident of himself and his army may be observed in his act of sending Sir Theophilus Shepstone a bag of corn asking him to count the grains contained therein and boasting that his army was just as numerous. When he took up arms against the English one cannot doubt that Cetshwayo was convinced that he would come out victorious.

Cetshwayo and Mbuyazwe

The history that is portrayed in the praises goes back to the time before he became king of the Zulus. It goes back to the time when he had to fight for his own throne. In fact on careful examination of the praises, it will be observed that the bulk refers to their struggle with Mbuyazwe his brother.

It is generally agreed that Mpande was res-

ponsible for the fight that took place between Cetshwayo and his brother Mbuyazwe. When Mpande took refuge with the Dutch, the latter asked him who his successor would be because they were anxious to avoid quarrels. Mpande showed them Cetshwayo whom they "ear-marked". But as time went on, Mpande's love for Cetshwayo waned and he became greatly attached to Mbuyazwe. Contrary to popular belief Mbuyazwe was an actual son of Mpande's and not Shaka's son. Mpande began to indicate to Mbuyazwe that he ought to try and get the chieftainship for himself. He told Mbuyazwe that he had also won the throne from Dingane in battle. Mbuyazwe, however, was afraid of Cetshwayo and he was reluctant to take his father's suggestion. But Mbuyazwe had a brother Mantantashiya.

UMatitihoye akhal' emaxhaphozini

UZululeka kuphum' ezakwaSikwata

(The Plovers which cry in the marshes

Thou who wanders and those Sikwafa came out)

who urged him on. He insisted that Mbuyazwe should fight Cetshwayo. But still Mbuyazwe was reluctant because he saw no way of attacking Cetshwayo and beating him. Mpande then came to the rescue with his plan. He said Mbuyazwe

should get a blanket (*ikhwatha*) and under it hide a short spear. He (Mpande) was going to make a beer party to which he would invite them all including Cetshwayo. That would be the opportunity of stabbing him. To this party also came Hamu and Hlomuza and a few others. Mantantashiya carried the spear. Then Mantantashiya stood up and went out but as he stooped to go through the door Hamu saw the spear under the blanket. That confirmed their suspicions because they had not been convinced that that party had nothing bad about it. Hamu called Cetshwayo out and outside he told him that Mantantashiya was carrying a spear. Hamu went back to the hut and called out Cetshwayo's supporters one by one until they had all left the hut. It became apparent to those that remained in the hut that Cetshwayo had smelt a rat. Mbuyazwe was greatly perturbed, for he believed that Cetshwayo was going to kill him. "Let him kill you, you coward!" said Mpande.

After that began furtive preparations in the kraals of Mbuyazwe

Umsind' okuNtlingwe ngowani?

Ubangwe ngabase Ntengweni nabakwaKhinya

Bexokozelel' indlondlo yakokaTshana

Bathi ndlondloni lena engabuli maphiko

Izindlondlo zonke ziwabul' amaphiko.

(The noise at Ntlingwe what is it about?)

It was made by those of Ntengweni and those of Khinya

Making a hubbub about the old mamba of Tshana's kraal

Saying what type of old mamba is this which beateth not its wings

All old mambas beat their wings.)

Cetshwayo realized that his chances of beating Mbuyazwe were not bright because the more seasoned regiments took the side of Mbuyazwe. He was particularly afraid of the Izigqoza regiment. Cetshwayo decided to go to Maphitha kaSojiyisa¹ his uncle who was at the head of the Mandlakazi section of the Zulus. Maphitha's kraal was at Enkungwini. He told Maphitha how

Mpande wanted to kill him, how he had set his brothers against him. Maphitha refused to offer assistance, however, saying that he did not wish to involve himself in the quarrels of the house of Mpande. Mandlakazi would not fight. Maphitha's sons opposed their father. They argued that Cetshwayo was the rightful heir and their king, and that they would not allow their king to be robbed of his rights. Maphitha eventually agreed, convinced that Cetshwayo had a good case. Mandlakazi was summoned. Maphitha told Cetshwayo not to combine the Mandlakazi regiment with the uSuthu (Cetshwayo's regiment). Cetshwayo's hope was mainly the hyenas—*amankentshane*—as the Mandlakazi regiment was called. Meanwhile a counterfeit hunting expedition (*inqinambumbulu*) had been organized by Mbuyazwe at Mpande's suggestion. Anybody who refused to join in the hunt was to be killed. It was hoped that by this means Cetshwayo would also go, and in the hunt the Izigqoza would suddenly fall on Cetshwayo and his followers and kill them all.

In this fight Mbuyazwe was aided by most of his brothers—Shonkweni, Sikhotha, Somklawana, DaBulesakhe, Mkhungo, Mantantashiya, Mdomba and others. Cetshwayo was aided by Mgidlana and Msuthu. Thus Cetshwayo was practically fighting a lone battle with all his brothers against him.

Ikhaß' elimile lodwa ngaseNhlungwane

Amany' amakhaba emil' izixexeleku.

(The crop that has grown alone near Nhlungwane

Other crops grow in clusters.)

For the same reason that he was not liked by his father the bard cried

Thambekeka wen' owaliwayo

Thambekeka wewus' iNtambanana² nangezi-nyembezi

(Go down thou who art hated

Go down the Ntambanana even with tears.)

Cetshwayo was not prepared to be sympathetic.

¹ Senzangakhona's brother.

² Tributary of the Mhlathuze River.

'Tears would count for nothing. Indeed he was like the old mamba on the war path. He put up for the night in a kraal of one of Mbuyazwe's headmen—*kwaNgxangaza*—and because the armies occupied the huts the women had to sleep in the cattle kraal.

On the way Cetshwayo passed Mlaḡa's kraal. Mlaḡa was a maker of spears. Apparently Mlaḡa was the man who made spears for Cetshwayo because the praises say

Uye wadabula kuMlaḡa
Obezakwa nguKhwani
Wafike wamnik' inyanda yemikhonto
Wathi mntakaNdaḡa
Uzubaḡabe nasemehlweni.
 (He passed Mlaḡa's
 Who was born of Khwani
 And he [Mlaḡa] gave him a bundle of spears
 And said son of Ndaḡa
 Stab them even in the eyes.)

Attempts had been made to stop Cetshwayo's progress at Mhlathuze but these attempts were futile.

Inyathi kaNdaḡa
Empondo zimakhenkenene
Bayivimbele ngamaphand' emkhonto
Beth' uMhlathuze kayi kuwuwela
Uth' esewuwela
Wayesewuwela ngamakhand' amadoda.
 (The buffalo of Ndaḡa
 With large outspread horns
 They prevented it with bundles of spears
 Saying he would not cross the Mhlathuze
 When he crossed it
 He crossed on the heads of men.)

The two armies met at ENdondakusuka. Cetshwayo sat on the Indulinde mountain so as to watch the fight properly.

Izul' elidum' eNdulinde phezulu
Lazithath' izihlangu zamadoda.

¹ Here there is a play of words. *Ukulaḡalaḡela* means to desire, to crave for. But it is taken from the saying of the IziGqoza when they referred to the uSuthu—*Laḡa, laḡa, laḡa boxe basifone* (these, these, these they will see us one day.) This was a threat. The IziGqoza did not

(The weather that thundered at Ndulinde high up
 And took the weapons of the men.)
Umthunduluka ovuthw' eNdulinde
Izigqoza ziyawulaḡalaḡela ¹
 (The wild plum which ripened on the Ndulinde
 The IziGqoza are yearning for it.)

Cetshwayo sent the Zungu regiment first but the IziGqoza made short work of them. Another regiment was sent and this also was annihilated. Cetshwayo was bewildered. He realized that he must send amaNkentshane or perish. The man in command of this regiment was Sikhizane ka-Nomageje Buthelezi.

Ubaba njengejele
Umzimba ukukhiwa njengamasi.
 (The fierce one like a tiger
 Body that is dipped like sour milk.)

Sikhizane was a great fighter and he was in no doubt that his amaNkentshane would eat up the Izigqoza. The two regiments clashed in mortal combat. The IziGqoza were at a disadvantage though, because they were not as fresh as their formidable opponents. It was not long before they broke up and fled. On seeing that, Cetshwayo ordered the uSuthu (which included the Eku-bazeni and kwaGqikazi kraals) to join in the pursuit. Mbuyazwe's army was driven into the Tugela where many perished.

Isilo esimaduna sakokaTshana ²
Esikhangel' abantu baduka nokwandle.
 The male beast of Tshana's kraal
 Which looked at people and they strayed with
 the sea.)
Isiziba sikaHamu benoZiwedu
Esibukudis' izihlangu zaseMkhweyantaḡa
Ilanga liyawushona.
 (The pool of Hamu and Ziwedu
 Which caused the weapons of Mkhweyantaḡa
 to swim
 Towards sunset.)

have a chance of fighting the uSuthu as the amaNkentshane came first.

² Cetshwayo's mother, Ngqumbazi was daughter of Mbondi son of Tshana Zungu.

Indeed the people of Mbuyazwe had blundered.
They had gone out of their way to look for trouble
and trouble had come upon them with a vengeance.

Abantu baseNtengweni¹ ngiyabesaba

Ngibasolile

Bazibukul' itshe linemamba.

(The people of Ntengweni I fear

I found fault with them

They uncovered a stone with a mamba.)

It has been mentioned above that most of Cetshwayo's brothers were against him. Even in the actual fight they took up arms against him but many of them perished. Some of those who perished are mentioned in the following praises

UMamba yeVuna

Eth' ukuvuka yadl' abakayise

Wadl' uMbeduka kwabakayise

Amakhubal' adliwa uyena kwabakaMpande

Wadl' uShonkweni obezakwa uMpande

Amakhubal' adliwa uyena kwabakaMpande

Wadl' uMantantashiya obezakwa uMpande

Amakhubal' adliwa uyena kwabakaMpande

Wadl' uSomklawana obezakwa uMpande

Amakhubal' adliwa uCetshwayo kwabakaMpande

Wadl' uMdumba obezakwa uMpande

Amakhubal' adliwa uyena kwabakaMpande

Wadl' uDabulesakhe obezakwa uMpande

Amakhubal' adliwa uCetshwayo kwabakaMpande.

(The Mamba of the Vuna

Which when it got up it devoured those of its
its father ;

He devoured Mbeduka among those of his father
The drugs were eaten by him among those of
Mpande

He devoured Shonkweni born of Mpande
The drugs were eaten by him among those of
Mpande

He devoured Mantantashiya born of Mpande
The drugs were eaten by him among those of
Mpande

He devoured Somklawana born of Mpande
The drugs were eaten by Cetshwayo among
those of Mpande

He devoured Mdumba born of Mpande
The drugs were eaten by him among those of
Mpande

He devoured Dabulesakhe born of Mpande
The drugs were eaten by Cetshwayo among
those of Mpande.

And for the same reason he was called

'UZitho zimagwegwe

Ngokugwegw' abakayise

(Legs that are crooked

For tripping ² those of his father.)

In this fight of the brothers, not only those of the royal house perished but many commoners perished too. The praises merely cite a few of these

Wadl' uNomsimekwana obezakwa uBikwayo

Wamshaya phansi koludumayo eziqungeni

Akwaze kwaba ndaba zalutho

Wamudl' uMashayayishukule obezakwa uSiphingo

Wamshaya phansi eziqungeni, koludumayo

Akwaba ndaba zalutho

Wamudl' uSigombe obezakwa uMtshana

Wamshaya phansi ezikhambeni koludumayo

Akwaba ndaba zalutho

Wamudl' uFaku, obezakwa uMtshana

Wamshaya phansi ezikhambeni koludumayo

Akwaba ndaba zalutho.

(He devoured Nomsimekwana born of Bikwayo
And threw him down on the thundering one, in
the tambookie grass

And nothing came out of it

And he devoured Mashayayishukule born of
Siphingo

And threw him down in the tambookie grass, in
the thundering one

And nothing came out of it

And he devoured Sigombe born of Mtshana

And threw him down on camel thorn trees, in
the thundering one

And nothing came out of it

And he devoured Faku born of Mtshana

And threw him down on camel thorn trees, in
the thundering one

And nothing came out of it.)

¹ Mbuyazwe's kraal.

² Actually we have here a play of words. *Ukugwegwa*

does not mean "to trip" but to shun. Here however it means to trip.

Cetshwayo did not himself take part in the actual fight. The story goes that when the fight at Ndo-ndakusuka began, Cetshwayo was kneeling down on Mbuyazwe's shield.

*UMagwaz' eguqile njengethole
USinikini singamasho' oSuthu.*

(Thou who stabs kneeling like a calf
The ragged one he is the tails of the uSuthu.)

This shield had been stolen from Mbuyazwe and it had been specially treated by Manembe ka-Gagamela, Cetshwayo's chief medicine man. Manembe told him to kneel on it, an act symbolizing that he would have Mbuyazwe under him.

Other praises dealing with this episode are

*Inzima lemnyama,
Engabubende Bengonyama
Ibiqhutshwa uMseleni benoNongalaza
Beth' ifanel' ukuyakusikw' izihlang' eMkhweya-
ntaba*

*Bathi : Iyeken, ubunyama bayo buyesabeka
Ifanel' ukuyakucel' imvula kuNkosinkulu.*
(The black one

Like the blood of a lion

It was driven by Mseleni and Nongalaza
Saying it was suitable for cutting shields at
Mkhweyantaŋa ;

They said leave it, its blackness is fierce
It ought to be sacrificed for rain to Nkosinkulu.)

Mkhweyantaŋa was Mbuyazwe's kraal. Nongalaza and Mseleni were Mbuyazwe's followers who were keen to see the death of Cetshwayo. With these praises is introduced a Zulu custom which is suggested by the "black colour" attributed to Cetshwayo. During periods of drought Zulus had a custom of slaughtering black beasts to propitiate the spirits and by so doing get rain. Mbuyazwe's section seems to have been very convinced of the ultimate destruction of Cetshwayo. When Cetshwayo defeated Mbuyazwe and threw Mbuyazwe's followers into confusion they exclaimed

Ndlondloni lena engabuli maphiko ?

(What old mamba is this which beateth not its wings ?)

Cetshwayo had a kraal near the sea called eMangweni. This is the kraal referred to in the praises

*Indaba yenziwe uManqina benoNkontshela
Uyen' othath' izinkomo zaseMangweni
Waye wayozithela ndawonye
Nezase Mkhweyantaŋa.*

(Trouble was caused by Manqina born of Nkontshela

He it is who took the cattle of Mangweni
And dumped them together
With those of Mkhweyantaŋa.)

And so ended the fight which Cetshwayo's *indunas* had believed to be one sided. They were convinced that Cetshwayo would be beaten by Mbuyazwe, and they seriously advised him against fighting. But Cetshwayo refused to listen

*Impunzi kaNdaŋa
Bayibambe ngendlebe
Phezu kukaLangakazi¹
Yadlamuluka yaal' amadoda.
(The buck of Ndaŋa
They caught it by the ear
On top of Langakazi
It broke loose and devoured men.)*

It was Cetshwayo's habit to visit, on what might be called a tour of inspection, the different men he had put in charge of certain areas. During such visits he collected large numbers of cattle paid to him by those headmen as a mark of respect and unswerving loyalty. It was on one such visit that he stopped at ENdliwayini which had been Mbuyazwe's kraal. Here he found cattle. Here also were cattle which belonged to his grandmother Langaŋana, but he slaughtered indiscriminately.

*Washikizel' umashikizel' omnyama
Edondolozela ngenhlendla yakhe ebimathatha
Impi yakhe eyakuyibuthis' eNdliwayini
Wazihlaba kanye namathol' azo ;
Kwathiwa ziyeke lezo mntakaNdaŋa
Ngezika Nyokokhulu ngezikaLangazana.
Washikizel' umashikizel' omnyama
Edondolozela ngenhlendla yakhe
Eyoshona ngesikhala
SikaMphelela noMaqhwaŋkazi
Eya ngoNoradu, obezakwa uMsweli*

¹ Mountain not far from kwaGqikazi.

Uyawukhokh' umnyatheliso

Iqabi lakwabo lezinkabi elimpunga.

(He strutted the black strutter
Supporting himself with his spear
Taking his army to sleep at Ndliwayini
He slaughtered them together with their calves ;
They said leave those son of Ndaŋa
They belong to your grandmother, they are La-
ngazana's.

He strutted the black strutter
Supporting himself on his spear
Going towards the pass
Of Mphehlela and Maqhwakazi
Going to Noradu born of Msweli
He paid his levy
A fine herd of grey oxen.)

When all this was happening, the English were already safely installed in Natal but they had no jurisdiction over Zululand which was a separate state. On his accession Cetshwayo was crowned by Shepstone, better known to the Zulus as Somseu. On his coronation Cetshwayo had to take an oath making several promises such as refraining from killing people without a fair trial, avoiding unnecessary bloodshed, allowing the missionaries to work in Zululand. Cetshwayo took the oath but there was never an indication that he intended to respect his coronation oaths. A king of a people who had emerged through the spear ; of a people who had subdued many tribes and who were used to dictating and not to be dictated to ; Cetshwayo, with the blood of his fathers coursing through his veins could not easily give away the tradition which had made his fathers the giants they had been. Thus he continued to kill people as before and in no way did the Zulu policy change.

The British government had been interested in Zululand for a long time. Even during the reign of Mpande, they had their eyes on Zululand. Perhaps the Dutch in the Transvaal also contributed to this interest. The British government in Natal had observed the general easterly expansion of the Boers and was not very happy about it. It feared that the Dutch would take possession of Zululand. The Natal government wanted land for the increasing African tribes, and there was still a per-

petuation of Sir George Grey's policy of civilizing Africans by introducing Europeans amongst them.

When Mpande died Shepstone thus hastened to Zululand to declare Cetshwayo king of the Zulus. It is stated that that was at Cetshwayo's invitation. The Natal government was interested in this coronation because it made it appear like a godfather of the Zulus and Shepstone was regarded as the "white father" of the Zulu king. The question of the Transvaal was, however, taxing Shepstone. There had been disputes between the Transvaal and Cetshwayo over the boundary and the Natal government had seemed to side with Cetshwayo. But after the annexation of the Transvaal in 1877, Cetshwayo was told not to molest the Transvaal Dutch for they had become one with Natal.

Sir Bartle Frere who was governor at the Cape decided that the only way of dealing with the Zulus would be to defeat them in the field of battle. By so doing he would make it possible for the colony to progress without any further fear of the Zulu army. "Sir Bartle Frere's estimate of the situation in Zululand was governed by his experience of Native Affairs in other parts of the British Empire. He was invincibly opposed to native tribal government. On arrival in South Africa in 1877, he had at once advocated an extension of British Sovereignty over the whole of Africa south of the Pongolo River. Like his predecessor Sir George Grey, he regarded European penetration of Native areas as essential for the civilization of Africa."¹

Furthermore Shepstone had made Frere believe that the Zulus, a naturally peace loving people, had no desire for military government which had been imposed by Shaka. Thus to Sir Bartle Frere disarmament would leave the Zulus satisfied.

Sihayo's wives had fled from Zululand and sought refuge in a police kraal in Natal. Some men from Zululand followed them, carried them away and subsequently killed them. This incident was one of those which brought trouble between Cetshwayo and the English. In the ultimatum that was sent to Cetshwayo by Sir Bartle Frere, he was instructed to surrender the murderers of

¹ HATTERSLY, *Later Annals of Natal* p. 130.

Sihayo's wives, to allow the missionaries to work in Zululand and to reduce his army. When Frere drafted his ultimatum, however, he had already decided on war.¹

Cetshwayo refused to accede to these demands, especially the surrender of Sihayo. Hamu, his brother, when it became evident that Cetshwayo was bent on war tried to dissuade Cetshwayo but the latter refused to pay heed. Hamu, hurt by the words that Cetshwayo use in reply decided to leave Zululand. The *Indunâs* realized that all was not well but they refrained from giving an opinion. Cetshwayo then decided to hear what the army had to say. Was he to surrender Sihayo or not? The army as was to be expected refused that Sihayo be surrendered stating that they would have to jump over their dead bodies first who wanted Sihayo. Finding that the army was behind him Cetshwayo was encouraged. One wonders if the outcome would't have been the same even if Sihayo had been surrendered, because Frere had his own ideas about what should be the future of Zululand.

Sir Bartle Frere believing that acting without delay was absolutely essential perfected his plans and ordered a march against Cetshwayo. The

Supreme command was in the hands of Lord Chelmsford.

Lord Chelmsford camped at Isandlwana but he decided to move on leaving the camp under Colonel Pulleine. Pulleine was to be in charge until Colonel Durnford arrived from Rorkes Drift. Colonel Durnford had with him Basuto levies. It is with reference to these Basuto that Cetshwayo is praised

UWaba lezinkomo zakwaMshweshwe.

(The black and white of the cattle of Mshweshwe.)

The progress of the Zulu war and the subsequent arrest of Cetshwayo falls outside the scope of this work, that part of history not being embodied in the praises.

And so ends the account of

UZulu ladum' obala

Lapha kungemunga kungemtholo

UHlamvana bul' umlilo

UBaswe uMantshonga benoGqelemana.

(The thunder that bursts on the open

Where mimosa and wattle trees there are none
Little twig stop the fire

It was kindled by Matshonga² and Gqelemana.³

CONCLUSION

This short survey as was pointed out at the beginning, covers only four Zulu kings: Shaka, Dingane, Mpande and Cetshwayo. There are many more praises which require to be explained and some background fitted in such as this one. It is important that this be done if the praises are to continue living; for, should this not be done, in the near future they will be like so many lines of meaningless words. They must be saved for posterity. There will be many difficulties. The greatest of all is the rapid passing away of the old people who know the events referred to. A few still remain, however, and these should be harnessed.

But the praises do not form an interesting study only from the point of view of history. They also afford interest in their structure. An analysis of features like alliteration, figures of speech employed, grouping of ideas, etc. are all aspects that require looking into. That, however, falls outside the scope of the present work.

Many people have expressed varying ideas in summing up the characters of the kings like Shaka, Dingane, etc. Shaka for example has been labelled as the cruellest Zulu king that has ever lived. Dingane is said to have been very cunning. Mpande does not seem to have made any impression except that he was a more peaceful king

¹ HATTERSLY, *Later Annals of Natal*. p. 133.

² Captain Walmsely.

³ A missionary. Cetshwayo refused that missionaries work in Zululand. One of the clauses of the ultimatum was that missionaries be allowed to teach in Zululand.

than his brothers. But he caused the split in Zululand and some blame him for that. The praises if properly studied, may provide the final solution as to what the people of the time thought of the king. True enough not much could have been said against the king by the court-poet but he had some measure of licence too. It is difficult to regard the praises

USela lintongande lawo Baleka

as being complimentary to Dingane.

Another aspect of the praises that would provide useful investigation is "modern tendencies" that have crept and are creeping into the praises. It would have been too much to expect that the praises would have remained untouched by the change of times. This may be observed for example in the praises of Mshiyeni kaDinizulu which, whilst fundamentally the same as the old praises in form and structure, yet include borrowed words.

UBov' ogqabul' iketango.

(The bull dog which broke the chain.)

Even the idea of a chained dog is a new one.

What is likely to be the future of the praises? A study of the praises reveals that many incidents preserved therein were connected with wars, but that age of wars for the Zulus has gone by. I be-

lieve, however, that as long as the royal house is perpetuated, the praises will continue to live. But even if it should cease to exist, the praises will remain, for there are heroes distinguishing themselves in the "battle of brains" who have ascended to great heights. The genius of the Zulu immediately thinks of the praises to do honour to whosoever has achieved something. Not only in the academic sphere but in the political world and elsewhere there will be individuals who will continue to deserve praises and thus there seems to be very little doubt that praises will continue to live.

The praises are also being used now as the basis of modern poetry. Some poets have begun to use the vein of the *izibongo* even though slightly modified at times. That the praises have an important contribution to make to the literature of Zulu is, I think, beyond doubt.

Whatever may be the fate of the praises, I think the words of Dingane's court-poet will always remain true

Vezi kof' abantu, kusal' izibongo

Izona zosala zibadukula

Izona zosal' zibalilel' emanxiweni.

(Vezi people will die, praises will remain

They will remain exposing them

They will remain mourning for them in the deserted kraals.)

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THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE BANTU LANGUAGES

(A review by G. P. LESTRADE)

DR. GUTHRIE's book¹ constitutes the latest in the short line of attempts to classify the tongues that make up the Bantu family. The Herculean nature of the task compels our admiration at least for the courage of anyone who ventures upon it. The book comes to us, moreover, under very favourable auspices. The prestige of the Institute under whose patronage it is published, and of the School to which its author is attached, augurs well for it. One approaches the work, therefore, prepared to excuse defects due to the magnitude and difficulty of the undertaking, and in anticipation of finding much praiseworthy matter in it. It is all the more disappointing that a perusal of it reveals, in the field in which the present reviewer feels competent to judge, comparatively little that can be commended, and a high proportion of quite unsatisfactory matter, and that one is accordingly left in considerable doubt as to what may be the value of the material presented in fields one does not oneself know.

The main body of the work consists of four chapters. In the first of these, the author deals with such introductory matter as the object, scope and plan of the book, the data upon which it is based, and questions of nomenclature and orthography. The second chapter deals with the *criteria* applied in determining what is a Bantu language. Chapter III discusses the *differentiae* applied in classifying these languages into linguistic groups. Chapter IV contains sixteen sections, each devoted to one of the *zones* into which Dr. Guthrie has divided the languages. Each of these sections contains, firstly, a table of the languages in the zone, listed in a number of smaller sub-divisions called *groups*; and secondly, some account of the characteristics of each zone.

The subsidiary part of the book comprises, firstly, a "full classified list of the Bantu languages" recapitulating the tables given at the head of the sections in Chapter IV, with a few additional alternative names for some of the languages; secondly, an alphabetical index of the names in the classified list, with in each case a rough indication of the geographical position of the language concerned; and thirdly, the map.

Let us now examine some of the main features of Dr. Guthrie's book and attempt to assess in how far he may be judged to have succeeded in his task.

Before a language can be assigned to its proper place in the Bantu family, it is obviously desirable to be sure that it belongs to that family. This necessitates having at our disposal a set of measures by which the language in question can be tested. Now Dr. Guthrie is not satisfied to accept as such a set any of the various lists of characteristic features of the Bantu languages which several of his predecessors have drawn up, or even to compile from those lists a fresh set of his own. He dismisses all such lists (pp. 9-11) on the ground that the characteristic features they tabulate do not constitute "true" or "real" or "clear" *criteria*. He does not tell us in so many words what distinction he makes between *characteristics* and *criteria*; but from what he says it seems legitimate to conclude that he considers the former to be too relative and elastic for the purpose of determining whether a given language is to be regarded as Bantu or not, and that the essential marks of the latter are absoluteness and rigidity. Dr. Guthrie then proceeds to give us (pp. 11-12) his own suggested table of criteria. It is here that we must note a difficulty with which

¹ *The Classification of the Bantu Languages*, by MALCOLM GUTHRIE, PH.D., B.Sc., (Lond.), Reader in Bantu Languages in the University of London. Published for the International African Institute by the Oxford University Press, 1948. 91 pp., map. 8s. 6d.

we are also faced in many other places in the book—the problem of understanding Dr. Guthrie's linguistic terminology, more especially in the grammatical field. He is evidently at considerable variance with Bantuists of other schools in regard to grammatical concepts and nomenclature; and it would have been, to say the least, useful if one had been given, directly or by reference to other work of the author, clear definitions of all the terms used, more especially since a fair number of them are not self-explanatory, or not unequivocally used. But Dr. Guthrie hardly ever defines his terms, and the reader is in very many cases left to conclude, as best he may, what exactly the nomenclature implies. Under the circumstances, Dr. Guthrie cannot complain if his public sometimes misunderstands him, and on occasion fails to understand him at all.

Dr. Guthrie presents us with four criteria, divided into two sets of two each, the first set labelled "principal", the second "subsidiary"—though we are told that the criteria in the second set are not less important than those in the first, but only less easy to apply. It might perhaps have been better if Dr. Guthrie had not given his sets of criteria labels which have to be followed immediately by an explanation that they do not mean what they say; but we must let that pass. The two "principal" criteria are, first, the noun-class system and the concordial agreement; and second, the vocabulary. The "subsidiary" criteria are, first, the existence of "cores or radicals" from which words are built up; and second, "a balanced vowel system in the radicals". We may now glance at each of these.

Regarding the noun-class system, Dr. Guthrie distinguishes between "classes", by which he evidently understands the classes *à la* Meinhof¹;

and "gender", by which he apparently means what the more old-fashioned Bantu grammarians meant by "classes". The wisdom of reviving this latter now surely quite outworn concept of the Bantu noun-classes, and of applying to it a term generally understood to denote, or at least to include, a sex-basis for the classification, may well be questioned. But even more questionable is the fact that for each language, in addition to a number of "two-class genders" for those nouns which occur in two classes regularly associated as a singular-plural set, Dr. Guthrie provides a further number of "one-class genders", to accommodate those nouns which occur in only one class, singular or plural as the case may be. The bulk of the classes in the "one-class genders" are identical with one or other of the classes in the "two-class genders", as may be seen from Dr. Guthrie's own Ronga examples on p. 15, e.g.:

"Two-class genders"	"One-class genders"
3 / 4 ^a <i>amipimu</i> / <i>amipimu</i> ^a	3. <i>antalo</i>
5 / 6 <i>aboko</i> / <i>amaboko</i>	4. <i>amisaba</i>
7 / 8 <i>ašilembe</i> / <i>ašilembe</i>	6. <i>amagolo</i>
	7. <i>aširami</i>

It is difficult to see either the theoretical or the practical justification for this elaborate tautology; and the idea that it should form part of a framework into which a language must fit if it is to count as Bantu is, to say the very least, extremely far-fetched.

Dr. Guthrie further commits himself to the categorical statement (p. 15) that "there is no correlation of the genders with sex-reference or with any other clearly-defined idea"; and he tries to support this assertion by showing (p. 16) that for example Meinhof's classes 1–2 contain, *inter alia*, nouns not denoting human beings, while certain nouns which do denote human beings are

¹ The nouns on pp. 13–15 are provided with numbers which, to some extent, correspond to those of Meinhof's system. But there are some departures from that system, and several inconsistencies connected with these departures. Thus, to mention but a few examples, Meinhof's class 14 (*zu*) is numbered 12 in Bubangi and Ronga, but 14 in Bemba; while the number 12 is also given to Meinhof's class 13 (*ka*) in Ilamba and Bemba, and to Meinhof's class 12 (*tu*) in Mbundu: *tu* is elsewhere labelled 13 in Bemba; but again the number 13 is also applied to Meinhof's class 15 (*ku*) in Ruguru, and to Meinhof's class 19 (*pi*) in Ilamba. It is therefore often difficult to see what, if anything, is the significance of Dr. Guthrie's numbering.

² The numbers here are those of the classes as given by Dr. Guthrie, and are, in this instance, in entire agreement with the Meinhof numbers. The words have been transcribed from Dr. Guthrie's orthography into the standard Ronga orthography.

³ The correct form is *aminipimu*, not *amipimu*.

found in classes other than 1-2. Here Dr. Guthrie appears to use the word *correlation* in a way peculiarly his own. Statisticians use it quite differently; and every Bantuist knows, or ought to know, that statistically speaking, so far from there being no correlation between classes 1-2 and the idea *human being*, there is a very high degree of correlation indeed, and that Dr. Guthrie's arguments here are quite beside the point. The same holds of various other classes. In any case, Dr. Guthrie (p. 22) mentions the existence of "partial correlation of certain genders with notions of relative size", thus himself contradicting his assertion in this regard.

The second of the two "principal criteria" is couched as follows (p. 11): "A vocabulary, part of which can be related by fixed rules to a set of hypothetical common roots". This criterion, like the first, is one whose general nature has long been established and accepted, and it has figured in more than one of the lists of "characteristics" which Dr. Guthrie has weighed in his balance and found wanting. Now it must be admitted that this particular feature, fundamental as it is, has perhaps been least well defined and described among all the hall-marks of Bantu languages. In view of all this, it is surely legitimate to expect Dr. Guthrie to have provided something much more satisfactory than he has done. As it is, this "criterion" of his is couched in language more vague and embarrassing than the least helpful of the rejected "characteristics". Neither in the definition cited above nor in the relative illustration on p. 16 are we given the faintest inkling of what part of the vocabulary must be relateable to the hypothetical roots to satisfy this criterion; and what we are told on p. 16, resumably in illustration of the "fixed rules" referred to in the definition, is so cryptic that the present reviewer confesses himself completely baffled by it. All we have to go on is what is said (p. 21) in connection with "lexical *differentia*"; and this, besides being quite vague, is in any case not correlated with the section on "criteria".

The first of the "subsidiary" criteria sets out certain points in connexion with Bantu word-building, starting from "invariable cores or

radicals" which are stated to have the following features:

- (a) They are composed of consonant-vowel-consonant.
- (b) When a grammatical suffix is attached to the radical there is formed a "base" on which words identifiable as "verbals" are built.
- (c) When a non-grammatical, or lexical, suffix is attached to the radical there is formed a "stem" on which words identifiable as "nominals" are built.
- (d) A radical may be extended by an element found between it and the suffix.
- (e) The only case of a radical occurring without a prefix of any kind occurs in verbals used as interjections.

What is the value of this criterion as stated? Let us first observe that it contains three postulates which do not correspond to all the known facts, and which in some cases contradict even material adduced elsewhere by Dr. Guthrie himself.

(i) Bantu radicals are not necessarily invariable: changes may occur in their vowels, e.g. in Sotho *-bōna* (see) gives negative *-bone*, *-rēka* (buy) gives negative *-reke*; and Dr. Guthrie himself states (p. 17), and gives examples to show, that either of the consonants of the radical may also vary, while elsewhere (p. 23) he speaks of the "alternances in the consonants of the radical" as being "too numerous to list".

(ii) Not all Bantu radicals are composed of consonant vowel-consonant. Dr. Guthrie himself in various connexions repeatedly refers to and cites radicals consisting of a single consonant only (cf. pp. 67, 70).

(iii) Words containing radicals but no prefix are by no means uncommon in some Bantu languages. Thus, nouns of class "Ia" in Sotho and Venda have no prefix whatever; some Bantu languages (e.g. Swahili) have certain invariable qualificatives with no prefixal element; many adverbial descriptives in Bantu languages are prefixless, though they contain identifiable radicals; and various other instances contradicting Dr. Guthrie's statement can be cited.

As to the remaining postulates, (b), (c) and (d), they are couched in Dr. Guthrie's own special terminology, which he has not explained to us and which, in spite of his reassurance to the contrary, is far from self-explanatory; and so their usefulness, and indeed their very applicability, must remain, for the time being, a puzzle.

The second of the "subsidiary criteria" is "a balanced vowel system in the radicals, consisting of one open vowel 'a' with an equal number of back and front vowels" (p. 12); and in illustration, we are given (p. 18) one set of radicals from Bemba (-LAL-, -LIL-, -LEL-, -LUL-, -LOL-) and another single similar set from Bubangi. Now a vowel-system of the kind indicated, but not necessarily manifesting itself in the radicals concerned, has for some time been recognized as a characteristic feature of the phonetic make-up of many Bantu languages; and if Dr. Guthrie has adopted this characteristic unaltered as a criterion there could have been little objection to such a course. But he has postulated that this vowel-balance must operate in the radicals of a language if that language is to be reckoned as Bantu at all; and one wonders whether he has realized the implications involved by this further specification. It may be seriously doubted whether any language can show more than a quite small proportion of sets of radicals displaying complete vowel-balance. The vast majority of sets of radicals are bound to show varying numbers of gaps; and the relevant languages concerned will therefore for the most part fail to stand such a test of their claim to be called Bantu. To regard such sets as the Bemba and Bubangi ones as typical even for those languages, let alone for others, is accordingly extremely ill-advised; and to set up as a criterion the particular feature those sets happen to display is methodologically quite unjustified. It should be added that Dr. Guthrie himself states that "it may be practically impossible to apply this criterion" to languages such as Mfinu—a language, by the way, from which he takes his only and presumably his trump illustration of the homogeneity of the Bantu

vocabulary. Coming on top of the doubts that had already arisen in our minds as to the applicability and usefulness of this criterion in the terms in which Dr. Guthrie has formulated it, this significant admission on his part gives the *coup de grâce* to this ill-conceived test.

So much for Dr. Guthrie's criteria for determining whether a language is Bantu or not. We come to means for grouping Bantu languages into related clusters. In this little-explored field, the author owes his readers two things: first, a clear, precise and detailed statement of his method of procedure; and second, a full demonstration of the application of his method to the relevant material. What does he give us? In that part of the book where method is discussed (pp. 20–28) he begins by distinguishing four methods—the geographical, the historical, the empirical, and the practical. The first he professes to ignore, though we shall see later that he by no means keeps his promise. The second he affects to dismiss "since the likelihood of its being able to produce results is so remote"—he has evidently not read, or not understood, v. Warmelo's useful contribution to the classification of the South African Bantu languages.¹ The third he discusses in some detail. He gives a list of *differentiae* of various kinds—chiefly grammatical, "phonological", phonetic and tonal, with some illustrative material relative to each. The fourth, which, he tells us, is the method he follows, "means that the presence of some arbitrariness is admitted as an essential modification of the empirical method". The arbitrariness, we are informed, "consists in the choice of the *differentia* to be employed in each case".

Here, as so often elsewhere, the reader is left in a state of utter bewilderment. The *differentia* indicated in connexion with the empirical method have been chosen arbitrarily enough already. Thus, out of the whole gamut of possible grammatical *differentiae*, we are given only ten ("There are naturally many things that could be included under this heading... Here are some of them..."); and we are not afforded so much as a hint re-

¹ N. J. v. WARMELO, "Die Gliederung der Südafrikanischen Bantusprachen", *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen*, 1927-8, vol. 18, pp. 1-54, 81-127.

garding the basis upon which just these ten, no more and no others, have been selected. As far as non-grammatical differentiae are concerned, the case is similar. But now, superimposed on this already arbitrary selection, we are told that still further unspecified arbitrariness must be admitted in determining which of the *differentiae* listed are actually to be used in classifying languages in any given instance. And not only are we not told why certain *differentiae*, and not others, have been listed as possible measures: we are also kept in ignorance of the basis upon which, in any given case, the prophesied arbitrary selection is to be made among these measures.

But not only are we not informed of the *raison d'être* for the various *differentiae* listed, and for any particular combination of them that is in fact used in any specific instance. We are also not allowed to see how they are applied; for Dr. Guthrie now proceeds to give us, in the various sections that make up Chapter IV, not a reasoned statement as to why, on the basis of the *differentiae*, the languages listed are put into the zones and groups concerned, but merely the grouping itself, followed by a description, usually extremely scrappy and on occasion quite erroneous, of some features occurring on the zone as a whole or in certain groups or languages in it. On the most rare occasions when we are given any reasons as to why a particular grouping has been made, we get such argument as this (p. 70): "In some ways there is a fairly close relationship between group 20" (i.e. Shangana-Tsonga, which, together with Chopi, is placed with Shona in Zone T) "and the languages of the previous zone" (Zone S consists of Venda, Sotho and Nguni). "Since, however, the arranging of the groups into zones is largely dictated by convenience of reference, it is preferable to put these three groups into a zone by themselves." To understand what Dr. Guthrie means by the cryptic phrase "convenience of reference", we have to turn to p. 28, where we are told that a zone is "primarily a set of groups which have a certain geographical continuity, and which display a number of common linguistic features as well". And so, having, as has already been pointed out, earlier led us to believe that

he would ignore the geographical method of classification, it is the geographical factor that Guthrie adopts as the chief consideration in establishing his major groupings, and almost the only factor regarding which he gives us any information as to the part it plays in determining his actual classifications. For, let it be repeated, we are, with rare and unhelpful exceptions such as the one just cited, never told *why* Dr. Guthrie has grouped the languages as he has done: we are merely given them so grouped, and are then fobbed off with what amounts to little more than a number of anecdotes concerning some of their features. But not only does this rare example of an occasion on which Dr. Guthrie does offer some sort of reason for his grouping display, in spite of the typically vague and elusive language in which the explanation is couched, the flimsy nature of his motive for adopting one grouping rather than another. It also shows his ignorance or disregard of the work of others, and of the patent facts of the situation. v. Warmelo, in his study above referred to, has shown convincingly that from the linguistic point of view Nguni, Shangana-Tsonga, Sotho and Venda form an aggregation the members of which are linked by numerous historico-phonological ties, while Shona definitely does not belong to this aggregation. Again, of the four first-mentioned, it is only Venda which shows any marked affinity with Shona, forming, in various respects, a bridge between the first three and Shona; while the closest affinities of Shangana-Tsonga are with Nguni and Sotho, certainly not with Shona. If Dr. Guthrie had grouped Venda with Shona there could have been comparatively little objection to such a course; but for him to tear Shangana-Tsonga away from its blood-brothers, so to speak, and to couple it with its cousin numerous degrees removed, shows how little eye he has for Bantu family traits even after others have taken pains to point them out to him.

We shall return later to some of Dr. Guthrie's accounts of zonal characteristics; but before doing so, let us consider two other matters.

The first of these is his actual listing and grouping of the languages in the various groups

he has set up. Considerations of space as well as the present reviewer's limitations precluded a consideration of more than a few examples; but it may fairly be claimed that a good idea of the quality of Dr. Guthrie's work in this connexion may be obtained from such consideration. What follows, therefore, is confined to those groups in Zones S. and T. with which the reviewer is to some extent acquainted.

Let us first glance at various editorial slips, methodological inconsistencies, and downright blunders, in regard to the inclusion, omission, numbering and classification of the various tongues belonging to these groups.

Three names (*Putsu*, *Rotse*, and *Shona*¹) occur in the alphabetical index on pp. 83-91, but nowhere else in the book, though they should of course also have appeared in the classified list on pp. 74-82, and in the relevant portions of that list which are given in Chapter IV. *Putsu*, further, is given a number (T. 26), but that number also occurs nowhere else; and no number T. 25, or any item connected with it, occurs anywhere at all, the last number in Group T. 20 being T. 24 (*Ronga*). Actually *Putsu*, being very closely allied to *Ronga*, should in Dr. Guthrie's system have been numbered T. 24b, or something similar. *Rotse* is given the number K. 31, the same as that given to *Luyi* (*Luyana*), and (in the index, but not in the list) to *Kololo*; while *Lozi* is given the number K. 21, again the same as that given (only this time in the list, but not in the index) to *Kololo*. *Shona* is numbered T. 11-15, and thus would appear to exclude *Kalanga* (T. 16) which is nevertheless otherwise treated as an integral part of Group T. 10. *Ngoni* appears twice in the index, and there and elsewhere we are led to believe that the two languages referred to belong to different groups and zones, for Tanganyika Ngoni is numbered N. 12, and grouped with *Manda*, *Matengo*, *Mpoto* and (Nyasaland) *Tonga* in the same zone as, *inter alia*, *Nyanja*, *Tumbuka*, and *Sena*; while Nyasaland Ngoni is numbered

S. 32b,² and grouped with *Zulu* and other Nguni languages, in the same zone as *Venda* and *Sotho*.

It may well be that much of all this confusion is due to an unfortunate series of *lapsus calami*, though in that case only a very little more editorial care would surely have succeeded in avoiding most of these slips. It is clear, however, that Dr. Guthrie deliberately meant to classify *Lozi*—*Rotse*—*Kololo* with *Luyi* in Zone K., whereas even the most superficial examination of that language shows that, though it bears the marks of *Luyi* influence, it is nevertheless overwhelmingly *Sotho* in nature, and Southern *Sotho* at that,³ and should therefore have been classified in Zone S., put into Group S. 20, and numbered S. 23b or something of the kind. It is also clear that Dr. Guthrie does not realize that his Tanganyika Ngoni (N. 12) and his Nyasaland Ngoni (S. 32b), whatever the differences between them may be, are *both* essentially Nguni, to be classified under group S. 30, and that his grouping of Tanganyika Ngoni with the tongues in N. 10 is a mistake—though again even the most cursory glance at the relevant literature should have saved him from this gaffe.

Methodological and other inconsistencies and eccentricities are, of course, much more debatable points than editorial slips and palpable errors. Nevertheless, a few of such of the former as are concerned with the inclusion, omission or use of names applied to tongues grouped in Zones S and T have also to be mentioned.

As previously noted, the name *Shona* is included in the book, even though it appears only in the index; and it is used, exclusively, as a general name for Group T. 10. With the doubtful exception of *Venda*, however, no other group in Zones S. and T. is given a general name, though of course the terms *Nguni*, *Sotho* and *Tsonga* or *Shangana-Tsonga* (for Dr. Guthrie's Group S. 30, S. 20 and T. 20 respectively) are as well known to and as generally accepted by South African Bantuists and many others as is the term *Shona*

¹ In general, names of Bantu languages and dialects are here given in the form in which they are current among South African Bantuists. On occasion, they are given as Dr. Guthrie writes them. These latter instances will, it is hoped, declare themselves from the context.

² It is also numbered S. 33b the second time it occurs on p. 67, and on p. 68.

³ The only example of *Lozi* given in the book (*ze kilitipa*, "these are the knives", on p. 53) fully bears this out

for his Group T. 10. Dr. Guthrie gives us no reason for his treating Group T. 10, in this respect, differently from the other groups in Zones S. and T. He does, however, make use of all the terms just listed, except *Nguni*: and a glance at the way he employs them is instructive. He restricts the term *Sotho*, thus unqualified, to Southern Sotho, thereby reviving a practice abandoned by all South African Bantuists and many others twenty years ago, and since that time followed by a rapidly-decreasing and now quite exiguous minority of those who have anything to do with the matter. He also speaks of *Tsonga*, but differentiates it from what he calls *Thonga*, using the former exclusively for but one of the tongues constituting a subdivision of Group T. 20, and using the latter exclusively for this subdivision, in which, however, he does not include *Tswa*, *Ronga*, or even *Gwamba*. He also uses the term *Shangaan*, but exclusively as an alternative to another of the tongues in his *Thonga* subdivision (*Hlanganu*)—and, one strongly suspects, equates the names *Shangaan* and *Hlanganu* in his mind. The eccentricities involved in all this become patent when we remember (i) that the forms *Tsonga* and *Thonga* merely constitute two out of a series of pronunciation and spelling variants of the same name; (ii) that this name, however pronounced or spelt, has never, by Africans or anyone else before Dr. Guthrie, been confined to *one* tongue in the group in question, but has been used, most indiscriminately on all sides, either to denote *any* of these tongues, or to denote any of the larger aggregations into which these tongues are grouped, including, besides Dr. Guthrie's *Thonga* subdivision, more particularly his *Gwamba*,¹ and generally his *Tswa* and *Ronga* as well; (iii) that the term *Shangaan* (more properly *Shangana* or *Tshangana*) has by the same token been used, by those concerned, either as a single term equivalent to *Tsonga* and its pronunciation and spelling variants, or coupled with one of the latter terms as a qualification of it, or to denote the Nguni

tongue introduced among the Tsonga-speaking tribes by Soshangana and his followers, and still to be heard there—but certainly never as an alternative to the name *Hlanganu* alone.

The manner in which Dr. Guthrie lists, or does not list, names of tongues constituting larger aggregations, is also either inconsistent, or erroneous, or both. Detailed consideration of but a single example in this connexion must suffice, though a few references to other examples have also to be made.

In Group T. 10 (Shona) he omits (why?) but one of the five main tongues of the comparatively badly-known *Korekore* subdivision, while for the remaining Shona subdivisions, all of which are much better known than *Korekore*, it is only in the case of *Manyika* that he gives a comparable amount of detail, again omitting (and again, why?) but one of the three main tongues constituting it, while for *Zezuru*, *Ndau*, *Karanga* and *Kalanga* he gives only these four names, and no more. This time he does enable us to infer on what basis, apparently, he has thus treated *Korekore* and *Manyika* differently from the other four main subdivisions of Shona. On pp. 29-30, and on p. 75, he explains his system of printing, arranging and numbering his items; and reading his Group T. 10 in the light of what we are there told, we have no choice but to conclude that, while he regards *Korekore* and *Manyika* as "dialect clusters", he looks upon *Zezuru*, *Ndau*, *Karanga* and *Kalanga* as "single languages", with presumably, no dialects. The actual facts of the situation, however, as described in Doke's detailed and authoritative work in the Shona field, show that Dr. Guthrie has here once more fallen into palpable and, here if anywhere, easily avoidable error. We have already glanced, indirectly, at similar mistakes of his concerning the Tsonga group. We may now note a few affecting other groups in Zones S. and T. *Venda*, *Pedi* (i.e. Northern Sotho), *Sotho* (i.e. Southern Sotho), and *Xhosa* are among the "single languages", while *Tswana* and *Zulu* are listed as "dia-

¹ *Gwamba* is the name applied to that dialect of *Tsonga* which is spoken in the Spelonken area in the Northern Transvaal, and should, in Dr. Guthrie's classification, have been grouped as one of the dialects of his *Thonga* but he raises it to the level of an independent "single language"

lect clusters". Under *Tswana*, out of its certainly more than half-a-dozen well-known dialects, only three are named, two of these in such a way as to imply that concerning each "nothing is known, apart from what may be found in Johnstone's [*sic*] work, beyond the probability that there may be such a language", while three of the very best known and documented Tswana dialects are not mentioned at all. Under *Zulu*, we find only two dialects named: *Zulu* (thus unqualified) and (Nyasaland) *Ngoni*, with (Rhodesian) *Ndebele* raised to the level of a co-ranking "single language", and the remaining well-known *Zulu* dialect-names ignored. Again, there is material available which would have enabled Dr. Guthrie to correct the mistake he has made in implying that Venda, Northern Sotho, Southern Sotho and Xhosa do not contain dialects, to give reasonably satisfactory lists of the dialects of Venda and of those Nguni, Shangana-Tonga and Sotho subdivisions where he has not done so, and considerably to extend and improve his lists of dialects in those cases where he has done so. One is forced to the conclusion that either he omitted to obtain this material or that, having obtained it, he failed to make proper use of it.

The second topic we must consider before proceeding to deal with Dr. Guthrie's description of zonal characteristics is the quality of his phonetic theory and practice.

The way in which he writes names of, and words in Bantu languages exhibits numerous puzzling, inconsistent, and in other respects objectionable features. He gives us no comprehensive list of his symbols, with exact indications as to what he intends them to stand for. Instead, we have to be content (on pp. 6-8) with a number of statements, a large proportion of them quite inconclusive, from which we are left to infer (as indeed appears to be the case) that in the main he uses the "Africa" alphabet; and with these he couples certain patchy and sometimes most curious remarks on selected instances where he departs from that alphabet. In his use of symbols he is, further, so often inconsistent as to leave us (if we do not happen to have other information on the subject) either in a state of complete be-

wilderment as to how to interpret them, or under grave misapprehension as to the pronunciation of names and other words in which they appear. Thus, having told us that his *i* with subscript cedilla is to be interpreted as I.P.A. *ɨ*, his *i* as *e*, *e* as *E*, *u*-cedilla as *u*, *u* as *o*, and *o* as *ɔ*, he proceeds to write e.g. *Roloy*, where he should, in order not to confuse or mislead, have written *Ruluy*. Again, having informed us that "any sound which is known to be fricative will be represented by the character for the plosive underlined", he proceeds to write *Suthu* where one would have expected *Tuthu* with the first *t* underlined, and *Zezuru*, which logically should have emerged as *Deduru* with two underlined *d*'s. Other instances of his lack of consistency in this regard are that the voiceless fricative lateral is presented in two ways—either by an underlined *l* (p. 15) or by *hl* (e.g. in the names *Hlengwe* and *Hlanganu*); and that the voiced bilabial implosive is represented now by *ɓ* (as in the Xhosa examples on p. 70), and then again by *b* (as in the name *Ndebele*).

The quality of Dr. Guthrie's equipment in the field of theoretical phonetics, and of his logic, judgement and consistency in orthographical matters, may be gauged from such examples as the following. Some comments are added in each case:

- (a) In *Bemba* (he underlines the first *b*, to show that the sound represented by it is fricative) "there is only one voiced bilabial consonant, and the fact that it is fricative in a word like *abantu*, "people", would in no sense justify the use of a special character" (p. 7).
- (i) If one knows one's phonetics, it is patent that the very name *Bemba* as Dr. Guthrie writes it contains *three* voiced bilabial consonants; and coupling this observation with the fact that the name is taken from the language itself, one does not even have to hear *Bemba* to conclude that this language must contain *at least* these three voiced bilabial consonants, and that Dr. Guthrie's statement that it contains but *one* is absurd in logic as well as being wrong in fact.
- (ii) If there is indeed no sense in which the use of a "special character" is justified here, Dr. Guthrie has no right to use an underlined *b*, which is, in its own way, a character just as

"special" as the Greek *beta* of the I.P.A. or the round-bottomed *v* of the "Africa" alphabet, both of which latter characters he eschews.

(b) "The symbols *c* and *j* have been used consistently throughout to represent either palatal plosives or simple affricates of the type *tf*, *dʒ*. Although this involves the use of the same character for quite different sounds, the fact is that in many cases we do not really know which of the two sounds occurs, and so it is convenient not to have to distinguish them in the spelling" (p. 7). It may perhaps be convenient thus deftly to be able to hide one's ignorance on occasion. It may also sometimes prove highly inconvenient to have renounced the possibility of representing differences which one knows to exist, and which may be important. In a language like Xhosa, for instance, we know perfectly well when palatal explosives and prepalatal affricates respectively occur, and we need to be able to distinguish there between e.g. *-tya* (I.P.A. *-c'a*), "eat" and *-tʃha*, "burn".

(c) (This extract follows immediately upon the foregoing, and must be read in conjunction with it.) "In the case of *f* and *ʒ*, the problem is somewhat similar, except that here we do not know whether these sounds are essentially distinct from *s* and *z* respectively. To use the phonetic symbols for them would frequently mean introducing an extra character unnecessarily, and would also obscure the relationship between words in different languages." Dr. Guthrie then goes on to say that "for this reason" (which one?) he has adopted two other symbols, *s* and *z* each furnished with a left-hooked subscript, "since they will also cover the possibility of other palatalized fricatives"; and of these latter he instances two, which he represents by *c* and *ʒ* each furnished with a right-hooked subscript, and by which he presumably means either palatal or prevelar fricatives—he gives no further information as to what we are to understand by these last two symbols. Having told us in the previous extract that he finds it convenient to represent by the same symbol even sounds he knows and recognizes

to be different, and having stated in the present extract that he knows, or at least recognizes, no "essential difference" (whatever that may mean) between alveolar and prepalatal fricatives, and presumably palatal or prevelar ones as well, and that he does not wish to introduce unnecessary extra characters in the form of "phonetic symbols", Dr. Guthrie now proceeds to do the following: (i) he keeps up the distinction between alveolar and prepalatal fricatives, as the occurrence throughout the book of both simple *s* and of his *s* with left-hooked subscript testifies; (ii) he proposes to do away with *f* and *ʒ* only to replace them with another set of symbols equally "phonetic", and even more "special"; (iii) he does not, in fact, abandon *f* and *ʒ* completely, but continues to use the former, indiscriminately together with his *s* with left-hooked subscript, now (e.g. on p. 69) to represent the voiceless prepalatal fricative, and again (in the Ronga word for "kindness" on p. 15) to represent the voiceless labialized alveolar fricative, which latter, in turn, he represents in addition by *sw* (e.g. in the Karanga word "small pig" on p. 70) and by *ps* with the *p* underlined (as in the Ronga word for "hats" on p. 15); and he uses *z* on p. 35.

We may now turn our attention to Dr. Guthrie's accounts of the characteristics of Zones S. and T. Let us look at a few of the more glaring errors which these accounts contain.¹

(a) The Rolong examples in §8 on p. 68, as well as the Xhosa and one of the Tswana examples in §13 on the same page, are wrong, or wrongly translated, or both. The forms *into abafunayo* and *ditshimo di lo di leman* simply do not exist at all in the languages concerned, and one wonders from what source Dr. Guthrie can have obtained them. "The things they seek" is, in Xhosa, *ixinto abazifunayo*; and what Dr. Guthrie gives is wrong in two ways—it gives the singular instead of the plural prefix in the noun, and it omits the critically important object-concord in the relative. "The gardens you are cultivating" is, in Tswana, *masimo a lo a leman*; and Dr. Guthrie's version, besides putting the plural of

¹ The examples are written in the current orthographies of the languages concerned—not in Dr. Guthrie's orthography.

tshimo, "garden", into a class where the veriest beginner in the language knows it does not go, commits the further quite elementary blunder of using the subject-concord instead of the demonstrative qualificative to link antecedent and relative. *Ké molapó-mogolo* (on the lines e.g. of *ké monna-mogolo*, "it is an ancient") would not be an utterly impossible form like the others just criticized; but the possibility of its actually existing is so remote that one suspects it is only Dr. Guthrie's erroneous or hypothetical version of the normal form *ké molapó o mogolo*. *Molapó mo mogolo*, again, is not impossible; but it is also an extremely rare form, and in any case could only mean "the river here is big", not "the river is a big one", the Tswana for which could only be *molapó ké o mogolo*. Finally, the Xhosa *into esifunayo* means not "the things we seek" (which would be *izinto esizifunayo*) but "the thing which seeks us".

(b) Referring to Shona, Tsonga, and Chopi Dr. Guthrie states (p. 71) that "independent nominals have single prefixes throughout". In current Bantuistic terminology, this means that nouns do not have initial vowels in their prefixes. In making this categorical and sweeping assertion he has, however, either forgotten or deliberately disregarded the contents of his own p. 15, where he cites no less than twenty-four Ronga nouns, every one of them containing an initial vowel.

(c) Referring to Shona, Dr. Guthrie alleges (p. 71) that "nominals are used as sentences", (in more ordinary Bantuistic language this means that copulatives are formed from, *inter alia*, nouns, pronouns and adjectives¹) "without modification of the prefix, e.g. *rukova rupami*, 'a wide river' or 'the river is wide' ". Now the fact is that, when a copulative is formed from any of the "nominals" in this language, there is *always* some modification of the "prefix". In some cases *ndi-*, or one of its variants *nd-*, *nda-*, *nde-*, *ndo-*, is replaced—

cf. e.g. *Zezuru baba*, "father", *ndibaba*, "it is father"; in other cases, *i-* is preplaced—cf. e.g. *banga guru*, "big knife", *ibanga guru*, "it is a big knife", *banga iguru*, "the knife is big"; and in yet other cases, the tone in the "prefix" is raised from middle to high—cf. e.g. *rukova rupami*, "wide river", *rūkova rupami*, "it is a wide river", *rukova rūpami*, "the river is wide".

(d) Referring to Sotho and Nguni (p. 67) and citing Northern Sotho *maruana*, "little clouds" and Xhosa *indkwana*, "little house" as "examples of what are loosely called 'diminutives'", Dr. Guthrie goes on to say that "like all other cases where the relationship between words is on the lexical level, it is quite impossible to predict what the 'so-called diminutive of any given word will be'. The fact is that, so far from being quite impossible, it is actually relatively easy to construct diminutive forms in these languages—always provided, of course, that one takes the trouble to acquaint oneself with the relevant rules, which are stated in considerable detail in the various grammar-books.

Apart from actual mistakes such as the foregoing, the descriptions of the zonal characteristics contain various statements which, though they may not actually be erroneous, are vague, loose, or in other ways open to criticism. An adequate discussion of even a very few of them would, however, require more space than is justified in this review, which has already become lengthy enough. Anyone acquainted with the field will readily find them for himself. Individually, perhaps, they may not be serious; but coming on top of Dr. Guthrie's demonstrable inaccuracies they serve but to heighten our cumulative dissatisfaction with his presentation of the material in this field.

One had high hopes of this book; and one's disappointment at the most dubious nature of its achievement is all the more keen.

¹ Dr. Guthrie does not himself tell us outright what he means by "nominals". We have here inferred it from scattered indirect evidence in his book, and also from E. W. PRICE'S *Ngombe Grammar*, which, we understand follows Dr. Guthrie's system. A review of Price's work, by C. M. DOKE, appears in *African Studies*, vol. 7, no. 1, pp. 49-51.

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY AMONG THE CEWA OF THE EASTERN PROVINCE OF NORTHERN RHODESIA

J. BRUWER

EVER since the publication of Lewis Morgan's monumental volume *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, anthropologists have shown a keen interest in kinship nomenclature in vogue among primitive people. Genuine interest in this respect has never proved fruitless. Kinship terminology reflects kinship obligations, and strange behaviour patterns within the social code of a specific people are clarified by a deeper knowledge of extended kinship.

The Cewa is a homogeneous group ruled by their paramount chief Undi, but claiming much wider tribal relationship with the Cewa of Nyasaland and Portuguese East Africa. Their past history proves that they have ethnic affinities with one of the great mother tribes of Central Africa, the Nyanja or People of the Lakes, who in days gone by were also known as the Amalawi, People of the Flames. This last mentioned name is said to have originated on account of the rays of the setting sun turning the waves on the lake into flames.

The Cewa claim descent through matrilineal sibs called *mbumba*, and female-dominance still persists. Succession rights run through the female lineage, and a chief is succeeded by the eldest son of his eldest sister. Matrilocal residence compels the husband to build his hut in the village of his wife. This is however qualified by a ceremony called *citengwa* whereby a man may, under specific circumstances, take his wife to his own village with the agreement of her people. The children will however belong to the sib-owner, i.e. the mother's brother, called *mt sibweni*. *Avunculi potestas* dominates the Cewa society.

Being the result of a closely articulated mechanism, social behaviour within the Cewa community seems a tangled complexity. When once the scope of extended kinship has been mastered

however, what seemed irregular and illogical, clearly becomes the logical outcome of traditional thought. The classificatory system by which kinship is moulded into a well defined entity proves in many ways to be much deeper and more realistic than our own.

A. BLOOD RELATIONS

1. *Ancestors*

Senior generations are only recognized up to the grandfather, grandmother stage. All those senior to these are termed *makolo*. The *makolo* include males and females from both lineages and no differentiation is made as far as gender is concerned. Dead ancestors are spoken of as *anthaka*, those of the soil, and still influence the living community from the spirit world according to belief. They still feel hunger and thirst, and may send fortune or misfortune according to their wishes or the treatment received from their living descendants. Offerings and sacrifices have to be made to keep the spirits (*omizimu*) of these ancestors quiet and content.

The term *kholo* (singular of *makolo*) is also applied to the senior co-wife where a polygamous marriage exists. Junior co-wives on the other hand are called *amsamphala*.

Genealogically the *makolo* may perhaps no more be recognized as individuals, but their existence in the spirit world is acknowledged and respected.

2. *Grandparents*

(i) Where great-grandparents are still living, no specific name is used for them. They may be called *amai* or *atate* meaning mother or father, or perhaps *ambuye*, grandparent. These very aged people are feared by the community since their presence is actually wanting in the spirit domain.

An interesting fact appears in this respect. These old, aged people call their great-grandchildren *cidzukululu*. This term no longer signifies personalities, but rather a condition. It may be *cidzukululu cacimbuye*, great-grandchildren of ownership, *cidzukululu cotukwanitsa*, great-grandchildren causing one to be scolded, or *cidzukululutubvi*, literally grand-children excretion. Especially the last two terms are ample proof that, to find oneself with great-grandchildren, means to be in a condition of utter worthlessness to the community as a living being.

(ii) Grandparents, both male and female are called *Ambuye*. No sex differentiation is made, but *wamkazi* (female) or *wamwamuna* (male) may be added for convenience. In this generation the classificatory system becomes apparent. All the brothers and sisters of your grandmother and grandfather in both lineages, will be your *ambuye*.

These *ambuye* call their grandchildren *adzukululu*. During the period between weaning and entrance into the sleeping hut of unmarried boys and girls, children are mostly with their *ambuye*. Here they receive a great deal of fostering and education, and as reward theirs is the sole responsibility to provide their grandparents with a proper burial.

Probably as a result of this curious setting, a symmetric joking relationship between grandparent and grandchild ensues. Thus a male grandchild will call his grandmother *mkazanga* (my wife) and his grandfather *mwamunamzanga* (my co-husband). In the same way grandfather will call granddaughter *mkazanga* and so forth. Joking conversations between grandparents and grandchildren are often heard, and unsophisticated behaviour between these two age-groups becomes a pattern of playful goodwill.

2. Parents

Although the biological mother and father are recognized and acknowledged, each individual has within the system of extended kinship a group of fathers, and a group of mothers. The mother is called *mai*, *mama*, and the father *tate*, *tata*, or *bambo*. The honorific plural with the prefix *a-* will always be used when addressing. It follows

that each person will have a group of "mothers", and a group of "fathers". In other words a group of people will be called either *amai* or *atate*. Sex does not necessarily control the use of *mai* (mother) or *tate* (father). This will be ordained by the fact whether a person belongs to the lineage of the mother or that of the father. Thus the sister of one's father also becomes your "father" usually called "female father" (*tate wamkazi*).

The brother-sister group on your father's side will therefore all be called "father" or "female-father". Your mother's sisters will all be called mother, but your mother's brothers do not become male-mothers, but are called by the special term *atsibweni*.

3. Children

Children are called *ana* (singular *mwana*) by their parents. You are of course not only the "child" of your biological parents, but also that of all called mother or father by yourself. The first-born child is called *wacisamba* on account of the *cisamba*-ceremony, an initiation during first pregnancy. A child born after another is said to be *woponda mnzace pamutu* (he who treads on his fellow-child's head). A baby not yet ushered into the community by ritual practice is called *khanda* (plural *makhanda*), a source of menace to others, being "cold", and therefore an object of taboo. Still-born children are called *nthayo* or *nsenye* and not looked upon as human beings. Burial is done secretly by senior women and no public funeral held.

Children may be called mother, father, chief, or even grandfather or grandmother by their parents if they are the (namesakes) of these people. They are very often treated according to status inherited by these specific names.

To a mother's brother his sister's children are not *ana*. Male children are called *aphwa*, and female-children *afumakazi* or *amai ang'ono* (small mothers). Children born in the hut-units of a man's sisters, belong to one matrilineal sib (*mbumba*) owned by the *mtsibweni* or mother's brother. The senior sib-owner is sometimes called *mko-kowogona* (lit. the sleeping cluster). The *aphwa* (sister's sons) will provide a successor to the mo-

ther's brother, and the *afumakazi* or small mothers will again bear the owner of the sib, and provide a successor to their own brother.

Children of the same parent-group and of the same sex call each other *abale* (singular *mbale*). Thus two brothers will call each other *mbale*, and the same applies to two sisters. Children of opposite sex call each other *mlongo* (pl. *alongo*). Therefore a boy will call his sister *mlongo*, and a girl her brother *mlongo*.

This terminology also applies to parallel cousins, i.e. the children of two brothers among each other, and the children of two sisters among each other. The children of the father-group will be *abale* and *alongo*, and the same with the children of the mother-group. Marriage within these ortho-cousin groups is forbidden. It may however happen that children of two brothers sometimes intermarry, but it is said that such a marriage is without honour. Children of two sisters will never marry one another.

Children of a brother and sister call each other *msuwani* (pl. *asuwani*). There is no term to denote sex differentiation. Enjoined marriage within this cross-cousin group is the basic pattern of the Cewa hut-mate composition.

Brothers and sisters will differentiate between elder and younger ones of the same sex by applying the terms *mkulu* (big one) and *mng'ono* (small one) to their *mbale*. There seems to exist a conflict relation mutually between two brothers in following one after the other, and they do not like sleeping in the same quarters.

B. RELATIONS THROUGH MARRIAGE

1. Husband and wife

A man calls his wife *mkazi*, and a woman her husband *mwamuna*. Usually the possessive pronoun *wanga* (of me) is added. From this the abbreviated terms *mkazanga* (my wife) and *mwam-nanga* (my husband) are formed. Both terms are

personified forms of the adjectival stems *kazi* (female) and *muna* (male).

2. In-laws

To a man his wife's mother is *mpongozi*, and a person to be greatly feared and highly respected. It is interesting to note that *ngozi* in the native tongue means an accident, a mishap, something of ill omen. One's *mpongozi* is avoided as far as possible, and only through mutual presentation of fowls is this avoiding-relationship ended. The wife's father is called *mnjira*, *mkwelume*,¹ or *atawala*. The relation between son-in-law and father-in-law though also of profound respect, is less severe than that between son-in-law and mother-in-law. These parents-in-law call their son-in-law *mkamwini*.

The husband's parents are both called *mpongozi* by his wife and they call her *mkamwana*. Although avoiding relationship exists between parents-in-law and daughter-in-law, it is less obvious since they are residential in two separate villages. Here again mutual presentation of fowls restores the equilibrium.

Husband's parents and wife's parents call each other *asewere*. This may be derived from the verbal stem *sewera*, play. A fair amount of goodwill exists between these two groups, and family interests are fostered by the *Unkhoswe* institution. This allows for a guardian (*mnkhoswe*) in both husband's and wife's family groups. This person (husband's mother's brother and wife's mother's brother although power sometimes delegated to the brothers of both) is responsible for the interest of his family group as far as the hut-mate unit is concerned.

Brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law call each other *mlamu* (p. *alamu*). This term is also applied to the *asuwani*-group even before marriage since they are potential in-laws. For this very same reason cross-cousins of the opposite sex will call each other husband and wife since marriage is possible and encouraged.

¹ It is doubtful whether this is an original Cewa term. More probably it came into use through Ngoni influence.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

Dorothea Frances Bleek. A severe loss to Bushman Studies occurred with the death in Cape Town on June 27th., 1948 of Miss Dorothea Bleek, the eminent authority on Bushman language and customs, at the age of 81.

She was the daughter of the great South African philologist Dr. W. H. I. Bleek, "the Father of Bantu philology", and made her contacts with Bushmen in her early youth. She frequently visited the remote areas inhabited by Bushmen—in South-West Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Southern Angola and even pursued parallel studies in Tanganyika. From material left by Dr. Bleek and by her aunt, Dr. Lucy Lloyd, and from information she obtained on her own account, Miss Bleek wrote a number of books on the habits, customs and languages of several Bushman tribes. She published, under the auspices of Cape Town University a grammar of Naron Bushman, and a comparative vocabulary of Bushman dialects. In 1947 she completed her life work, an exhaustive Bushman Dictionary, which her father had begun more than seventy years ago.

We hope shortly to publish a memorial article which will more worthily assess Miss Bleek's great contributions to our knowledge of these most interesting inhabitants of South Africa.

* * *

Father Bernard Huss. A prominent figure in Roman Catholic Missionary work in South Africa passed with the death at St. Mary's hospital Mariannhill, Natal, on August 5th, 1948, of Rev. Bernard Huss. The following tribute appeared in *The Star*, Johannesburg.

"Father Bernard Huss was born in Bavaria 73 years ago and came to South Africa to join the Trappist order at Mariannhill where he was ordained. About 1910, some Trappist monks at Mariannhill were released from their vows of silence, to take up missionary work among the Natives. Father Huss, who was a fluent Zulu linguist,

was one of these. He was for many years a missionary in the Transkei and returned to Mariannhill in 1914, to found and become the first principal of St. Francis Training College for Native teachers which is the biggest institution of its kind in the Union.

"He spent several years there before visiting America for social research work, on one of the Carnegie grants, with the late Bishop Hanisch. When he returned, Father Huss went to the Mariazell Training Institute near Matatiele to help to establish another training college for Native teachers. Early this year he retired to live at the monastery at Mariannhill, where he began his work more than 50 years ago.

"Father Huss was well known in many parts of the world for his books—written especially for Natives—on economics and agriculture, on both of which subjects he was an authority. He interested many hundreds of Natives in agriculture, taught them to 'Save the Soil' and showed them how to 'contour-plough' their land and other conservation methods. As an authority on soil conservation, his advice was sought by the authorities in Rhodesia and he frequently was called for consultation with Government officials in Pretoria. He was a regular lecturer at the Jan Hofmeyr social school in Johannesburg.

"Father Huss was one of the founders of the Catholic African Union which sought to teach Natives the value of co-operative work and banking."

* * *

The Report of the Department of Native Affairs of the Union of South Africa for the years 1945-7 provides interesting reading, valuable statistical matter and informative reports. Apart from individual reports of the various Chief Native Commissioners, sections are devoted to the work under the Controller of Native Settlements, to Urban Areas, Native Laws Commission of Inquiry, Illegal Native Immigrants, Native

Councils, Health, etc. The Secretary for Native Affairs in his covering minute refers to the increased calls on an inadequate staff due to the work of administration of pensions for the Old, the Blind and the Disabled, as well as that concerned with the Children's Act, Workmen's Compensation Act, Unemployment Insurance, etc. He points out that, in pursuance of the Government policy Natives are being appointed in increasing proportions to the ranks of the Department.

Referring to rehabilitation, the Secretary writes :

"The pressure of population on the crowded reserves must be relieved by the acquisition of more land, as provided by the Native Trust and Land Act. European opinion appears, broadly speaking, to have hardened and the slogan, "not an inch more" of European owned land to be sold for Native occupation, has been heard in some quarters. Voluntary sales to the Trust have in some instances been opposed by influential groups, greatly to the displeasure of the sellers. This stultification of the relative decision of Parliament makes impossible the rehabilitation of most of the existing Native areas on the lines laid down . . .

"How to make the Native love the soil, to protect and preserve it; how to induce him to change his agricultural system; what incentive to apply to make him work harder in his fields—these are problems which face all Native administrators in Africa."

Reference is also made to the fact that the Natives' Representative Council ceased to function, and weakness in the constitution of the Council is pointed out. "The greatest weakness of the System, however, has been the fact that the Council has little responsibility to carry." Certain proposals to improve this position are later outlined.

A number of fine photographs are appended to this report.

* * *

Appointment of Editor for Colonial Service Journal. The Colonial Office have announced that Mr. Kenneth Bradley, Under-Secretary,

Gold Coast, has been appointed editor of a Colonial Service journal which is to be published by the Colonial Office.

This journal, for which a grant of £1,200 has been made under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act, is to be, in effect, the house magazine of the Colonial Service. It will provide a forum for discussion on subjects of professional interest to colonial civil servants who will provide most of the contributions.

Mr. Bradley, who takes up his appointment on September 1, is well known as the author of *Diary of a District Officer* in which he describes the work and experiences of a district officer in Northern Rhodesia where he himself worked in that capacity and later became the territory's first Information Officer. Mr. Bradley has spent 22 years in the Colonial Service and has served also in the Falkland Islands and the Gold Coast.

* * *

Recommendations of the Weston-Ellis Mission on Technical Education in East Africa. The Mission, in its report, stresses the importance of close co-operation between training centres of all kinds and the firms or industries for which they are preparing recruits. For this purpose a training committee for each trade should be set up to consider the type of training required, the entry standard of trainees, the syllabus of training, length of the course and arrangements for continuation of training when in employment.

Other important recommendations in the Mission's report may be summarized as follows :—

1. Each territory should operate short courses for those instructors on vocational training schemes who require guidance in teaching methods.
2. There is less opposition now than formerly by Africans and Asians to the inclusion of handwork in the primary school, and simple handwork should now be introduced in all such schools.
3. More advanced handwork with either an artistic or a practical bias should be introduced into secondary grammar schools.
4. Technical and trade school courses should give a wide educational background including

practical work, drawing, science and mathematics, "leading to more specialized training in industry and commerce.

5. Training schemes for artisans to work in villages and Native areas should be drawn up in consultation with District Commissioners and Native Authorities.
6. Apprenticeship should be put on a more regular basis and schemes for "training within industry", using existing skilled personnel, who have undergone a short course in instructing methods, should be considered.
7. Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika should each have a central technical school to conduct the most advanced courses.
8. The vocational training centres for ex-service-men should continue in operation until the urgent need for artisans has been met, and afterwards, if suitable, should be transformed into trade or technical schools.

* * *

Revised Ten-Year Plan for Development in Northern Rhodesia. The recent review of the Development Plan lists three priorities. These are :—

1. Increased food production because at present the Colony is a large importer of foodstuffs.
2. More houses for Europeans and Africans, because lack of housing has impeded the recruitment of technical staff needed from overseas, and because African staff are inadequately housed.
3. Improved roads to carry the current volume of goods in all weathers—for which the present roads are inadequate—and to meet the transport needs of increased production.

The cost of the revised Ten-Year Plan is now estimated at £17 millions instead of the £13 millions originally proposed. £22 millions will still come from Colonial Development and Welfare funds, £9 millions from Loan Funds and £5½ millions from the Colony's surpluses. It is antici-

pated that there will be a substantial surplus in 1949 owing to the continuing demand for copper, the Colony's main export.

* * *

Growth of Northern Rhodesian Co-operative Societies. The Co-operative Movement in Northern Rhodesia is expanding steadily. During the month of June two European and three African societies were registered. One of the African societies, the Mutende Better Living Society, is the first of its type in the Colony; about 30 Africans in Lusaka voluntarily formed a group with the object of increasing habits of thrift and personal hygiene among the members. It is hoped that similar societies will be formed in other districts. Another of these groups is the Barotse Co-operative Association Ltd., which has been formed by a group of African traders with the purpose of obtaining supplies of wholesale goods in bulk. The Society aims at setting up its own wholesale warehouse and at supplying its own members with goods. Other similar groups are being formed at Fort Jameson and in three of the western towns.

The first African Co-operative Society was formed in Northern Rhodesia in September 1947. African growers of the Petauke Producers' Association which had been working successfully for many years decided to register themselves as a co-operative society. A committee was elected and an expert European manager was engaged to supervise the preparation of tobacco for marketing until an African could be trained to take over the work. The growers began to handle their own affairs, opened stores, supplied their members with tools at cost price and charged a membership fee. Fifteen hundred members were enrolled by October 1947. Before 1947 there had been several European societies, but it was not until 1946 that a Registrar of Co-operative Societies in Northern Rhodesia was appointed, and on his staff were Africans whose function it was to assist him in encouraging the co-operative activities of Africans.

BOOKS IN REVIEW

Rooiyard, a Sociological Survey of an Urban Native Slum Yard, being the Rhodes-Livingstone Papers Number thirteen. DR. E. HELLMANN (Published by the Oxford University Press, Cape Town, for the Rhodes Livingstone Institute, printed by the Morija Printing Works, Morija, Basutoland, 1948.) 125 pp. quarto illus. 7/6.

The Rhodes-Livingstone Institute is to be congratulated on the publication of Dr. Hellmann's M.A. thesis on the sociological study of a slum-yard in Johannesburg, for though the thesis was presented to the University in 1935, the material has never been superseded and the thesis is a mine of information which it is important for people to have at their disposal in the present difficult state of the discussions on the Native situation in the urban areas and indeed in the Union as a whole.

The purpose of the study is to give as complete a picture as possible of the lives of the families who were compelled to live in a slum-yard. Mrs. Hellman with the utmost patience gathered the drives which brought the Natives to the towns, and the causes which induced them to remain in the almost intolerable conditions of the slum-yard. She gives an intimate picture of the day-to-day struggles of the people living in extreme poverty in an alien environment and compelled, in order to make ends meet, to live a semi-criminal existence with constant fear of police raids and all the misery that those raids entailed. The report is also a study in acculturation, an attempt to discover how the people living in such a yard were adjusting themselves to western civilization, and what modifications in their own culture they were compelled to make by the circumstances of their lives. Obviously the study of one group of people—100 families for the chief part—is but one facet of a very complex problem, but the work was extremely well done, and the

painstaking objective report is very well worth careful study to-day fourteen years after the work was done. The Rooiyard families, for the most part, were young families with a rural background and to a very large extent still with rural contacts of one kind and another. They were not part of a stable urban population. Mrs. Hellman discovered that despite rapid assimilation of western material culture and the speedy adjustment to changed economic conditions, the assimilation of western spiritual culture was proceeding at a far more leisurely pace. Especially, "the permanence of marriage is tending to be undermined; the exclusiveness of the sexual bond between partners is disappearing; the Native conception of and the function of *lobolo* are undergoing a startling metamorphosis; kinship obligations and parental control are greatly diminished. The restraints of tribal discipline do not affect the urban Native and no substitute discipline has as yet emerged from out of the chaotic welter of transition. The old sanctions have lost their force and the sanctions which order European life are not yet applicable to Native life."

Unfortunately circumstances have been such that instead of a steady progress to more stable conditions since this study was made, we are to-day faced with vast aggregations of Native families living in authorized squatters camps and severely overcrowded Native townships, where the conditions often approximate very closely to those described in this thesis. To-day, as in 1934, the vast majority of Native families live precarious lives based on unskilled wages totally inadequate to provide a decent subsistence level and thus family incomes are still being eked out by the sale of various intoxicating liquors with all the attendant evils of an illicit trade.

Nonetheless there is to-day a larger stable urban population and what is urgently needed is a companion study to this one of Mrs. Hellman's, a study of a group of men and women born and

bred in the city environment 'who are married and living in Johannesburg. The degree of adjustment, the mechanics of adjustment, and the degree of wellbeing, material and spiritual, should be assessed. It is to be hoped that such a study may be made, but whether it is made or not, this record of what can only be called a tragic social situation warrants very serious study and it is very satisfactory that it is now available to the public.

A. W. Hoernlé

Some Kgatla Animal Stories. G. P. LESTRADE
2nd. ed. (Lovedale Press, 1948.) 68 pp.

The first edition of these stories, published as one of the "Communications from the School of African Studies", University of Cape Town, in 1944, was reviewed in our journal in Vol. IV, No. 1. The present edition has been revised by Professor Lestrade. The technique used in the translation is specially valuable to students of language and is designed to give to the lay reader a close picture of Tswana idiom and thought. The notes appended present a valuable grammatical commentary.

C. M. D.

Basic Bantu. K. HOPKIN-JENKINS. (Shuter and Shooter, n.d.) xii+95 pp.

Under this imposing title we are presented with quite an interesting study of what is variously known as Kitchen-Kafir, Mine-Kafir, Silololo or Fanakalo. With this variety to choose from, it is difficult to understand why the author found it necessary to invent a new name, particularly one which is so incongruous and misleading.

Fanakalo, the name by which this pidgin language is generally known to its users, is neither Basic nor Bantu. The term "basic" is presumably borrowed from C. K. Ogden, *vide* his works on Basic English, in which he sets out a minimum vocabulary for adequate communication of concepts through the medium of the English language. But there is no language called Bantu.

The term is correctly applied in reference to a family of well over a hundred related but distinct languages. While there would be little difficulty in selecting basic vocabularies for individual Bantu languages, this could not be done for the Bantu family any more than it could for the Indo-European family of languages, and even were this feasible, the result would bear extremely little resemblance to Fanakalo. While Fanakalo retains a few of the inflexions so typical of Bantu languages, and a considerable proportion of its vocabulary is of Zulu and Xhosa origin, it is only to this limited extent that it exhibits Bantu characteristics. Even these features, however, are drawn from the Nguni group, only one of dozens of such sub-divisions of the Bantu family. Fanakalo has borrowed very extensively from English and Afrikaans, not only in order to supplement the Zulu and Xhosa vocabularies, but even when these languages have had perfectly suitable and expressive words readily available. It is a mixture of English, Afrikaans and Nguni, used by Europeans in order to communicate with Africans, whose languages they are unable to speak. From the African point of view however, it is a mode of communication with Europeans, and might with equal justification be called "Basic English" or "Basic Afrikaans" by them!

The author's comparison of the development of Fanakalo with that of Afrikaans is also ill-conceived. Afrikaans is the result of spontaneous modification of the phonetic, morphological and grammatical structures of its Dutch parent, together with some accretions from other members of the same language family. Fanakalo however, is not a spontaneous outgrowth from Zulu or Xhosa, but a mixture of languages of two entirely different linguistic families, a development resulting from pressure of economic and other forces imposed by South African conditions.

We are told that Fanakalo is "spoken wherever black meets white from the Cape Peninsula to the Great Lakes" and used "by millions of speakers every day"—both highly exaggerated statements. The North-Eastern part of Bantu Africa, covering a wide area and including the Great Lakes, has its own pidgin language, a

mixture of English and Swahili. I doubt very much whether Fanakalo is used by as many as even half a million speakers every day. Its use is restricted almost entirely to the mining and other industrial centres of the Union and perhaps Rhodesia; and while migrant labourers coming to these centres learn Fanakalo, for example on the mines, it certainly does not supplant their own languages when they return to their homes, as is suggested by the author of this book. I am unable to accept that its dissemination "throughout the sub-continent" is nearly so wide, nor that its literary possibilities are likely to be so great, as he would have us believe.

The general analysis is presented in popular style, and should be of considerable assistance to those for whose use it is intended. Even for this purpose however, the order of treatment of the grammar might be more satisfactory. For example, lists of nouns are given from page 2 onwards, with plural prefixes in brackets, but not until page 19 is the student told whether the plurals are formed by affixation or substitution of these prefixes. Again we note that most nouns of the "*Mu- Ba-*" and "*Um- Mi-*" classes, and some in the "*Nasal*" and "*Ma-*" classes, are recorded with initial vowels in the singular prefixes. This is not true of Fanakalo, which drops the initial vowels of prefixes, exceptions being found only when the noun-stems are monosyllabic. Spelling is often inconsistent when there is no reason for such inconsistency, e.g. *futi* and *futhi*, *umuti* and *umuthi*. Aspiration is usually indicated in the case of clicks and *k*, but only rarely in the case of *p* and *t*. Several other such points might be mentioned but would require too much space. The distasteful term "Jim Fish" finds frequent use.

A thorough study of Fanakalo on scientific lines would no doubt be of considerable value and interest to employers of African labour and to Bantuists, besides providing the latter in particular with a certain amount of light entertainment. In spite of these criticisms, this is the best exposition of Fanakalo to date, and it will provide a useful basis for further study by anyone who might decide to do so seriously.

Mr. Hopkin-Jenkins, incidentally, is not a member of the staff of the Bantu Studies Department of the Witwatersrand University, although this impression might be gained from the title page of his book.

D. T. COLE.

Zulu-English Dictionary. Compiled by C. M. DOKE and B. W. VILAKAZI. (Witwatersrand University Press, 1948.) xxvi + 903 pp. 4to. 45/-.

The compilers of this work, together with their collaborators, their publishers and their printers, and all those who have made the volume possible, are to be most heartily congratulated on a great task excellently performed. As Bantu languages go, Zulu had already been among those which, in respect of lexicographical material, had been well served by such highly meritorious compilations as those of Colenso and Bryant. It now has a dictionary which need not fear comparison with the best available for any language in the family.

In determining what words to include—perhaps the most difficult part of all dictionary-making—the compilers have wisely cast their nets wide. Thus, though they have adopted the "standard" Zulu of the preceding dictionaries as a base, they have incorporated numerous items from "non-standard" Zulu speech from areas of Natal and Zululand not covered by their predecessors. Again, like their predecessors, they have not limited themselves to words of Bantu origin, but have, though on a considerably greater scale than in other Zulu dictionaries, included words of foreign origin—chiefly, of course, English and Dutch. Once more, they have been liberal in the inclusion of derivative words, especially those formed from nouns, verbs, and ideophones. Finally, they have listed a large amount of technical vocabulary, including, besides much specialized material relating to one or other aspect of indigenous Zulu life, such as the *hlonipha* terms used by the women, a great deal—much of it newly coined or freshly adapted—relating to fields unknown to Bantu experience before the advent of the European, such as theological,

grammatical and other scientific terms. As a result, this dictionary, in sheer number of words alone, far outstrips its predecessors in Zulu, and nearly all its pendants in other Bantu language.

When possible, the etymology of each item listed is given, and also the hypothetical Ur-Bantu form to which it is related. Synonyms have been freely cited; and in addition many references to words indicating different varieties of a general concept covered by a particular word. The meanings of the words have been given with considerable clarity as well as succinctness; and it is a specially pleasing feature that various meanings of the same word have been listed in column form, each meaning being numbered. When a derivative word, such as a verb-species, has a meaning or use not deducible from its form alone, it is listed separately, and its meaning or meanings follow: otherwise, the derivative word is listed under its stemword, and the meaning is not given. The work also includes an unusually large number of illustrations of the use or uses of the words it contains, especially when the words concerned have more than one meaning. In this connexion, many a Zulu proverb will be found, not merely illustrating the meaning or use of some key word, but also in many cases elucidating the meaning or pointing the use of the given proverb as a whole. This mine of idiomatic illustration is one of the most meritorious among the goodly list of the dictionary's commendable features.

The orthography employed is, in the main, the official one which has now been recognized for a considerable time for educational and literary purposes. Whenever there is a departure from this orthography this only leads to greater clarity, e.g. in the indication of ejective consonants, of nasals preceding clicks (as distinct from nasalized clicks), and in one or two other cases. The introduction to the dictionary contains useful summaries of phonological and grammatical rules enabling the seeker to locate with the minimum of difficulty words that may have become phonologically disguised, such as those subjected to palatalization. The tone of all words is given, in the number-system which Professor Doke has also utilized elsewhere.

In the case of all words built up on a readily separable stem, such stems have been recorded under their initial letter; while in addition in the case of all nouns both the singular and the plural, where these occur, have been given in full after the stems, and in the case of possessive qualificatives the full forms have been recorded under their initial letter, in addition to the stem. Most other words have been recorded under their initial letter. There is thus a certain amount of inconsistency; but this inconsistency is made virtually imperative by the nature of Bantu word-structure, and can hardly be laid at the compilers' door. In the case of nouns there is perhaps a certain amount of tautology in the giving of regular singular and plural forms in full in addition to their stem: but where the compilers do not seem to have had to consider space, we can hardly complain of this feature. In any case, with the help of such minimum grammatical and phonological knowledge as anyone likely to consult the dictionary will surely possess, no one should have any difficulty in locating a word which, for one purpose or another, he may want to look up.

The appearance of this work is not only a major event in the history of Zulu linguistic scholarship. It should serve as a stimulus to workers on other Bantu languages to attempt, if they can, to go and do likewise for those languages.

G. P. LESTRADE.

Traveller's Joy. ELEANOR WATKINS. (London: Home & Van Thal, 1948.) 186 pp. 12/6.

This is a delightfully written collection of sketches and experiences. The first half of the book concerns incidents and scenes in China in the early days of the "China incidents". Following this are some experiences in New Zealand; and then the later sections of the book concern South Africa, Basutoland and the Transkei. The descriptions are vivid and sympathetic, redolent of the right atmosphere and provide most enjoyable and informative reading. This is a little book to be recommended.

C.M.D.

